FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW

# hibernia

PRICE 15p (this issue only)

JANUARY 5th, 1973

15p
DEMESNE PRODUCTS
TOUR 1972

NEUTRATE IRA

REFERENDUM TO CAL

NORTH TRIBUNAL SYSTEM TO 2 SECTIONS FOR DELETION

REPLACE INTERNMENT

British Paras

IRA use Russian weapo

Reality is ugly and very sordid—O'Malley

U.D.A. BOMBS

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ANTI-I.R.A. BILL IN DAIL TOMORROW

out

BORDER PLEBISCITE BILL

MR. WHITELAW, Secretary of

Prepared to kill, says Craig

POLITICAL DIRECTORY '72

IRELAND 'CATHOLIC' IN E.E.C., SAYS DR. LUCEY

ROCKET BLITZ

Solution not in Green Pape

the large number of people who ir homes by violence in Northern

ARTICLE 44 BILL IN DAIL TODAY

By Dick Walsh

LYNCH, HEATH TO DISCUSS WHITE PAPER

Mac Stiofain said to be in danger

Pressure on S.D.L.P. denied

Aldershot bomb blast

30-year sentence

TWO OTHER IRISH

Coalition Talks

Contraceptives Bill published

INSIDE: Politics • Arts • Books • Finance

# Letters to the Editor

## Public Obsessions

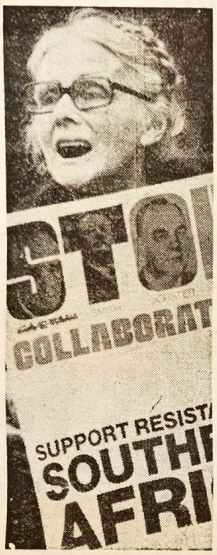
Sir,—I became rapidly more and more disillusioned with the state of public opinion in Ireland. In the past three months *Hibernia* have conducted very commendable investigations into the Ballingarry mine closure, the skinhead phenomenon and the flagrant misuse of government money on a costly and useless survey into the Irish language. And what was the response? Absolutely nil. I did not see one coherent letter on any of the subjects dealt with.

Are contraception, abortion and the teaching of Irish in schools the only subjects that arouse Irish people these days? It would seem so, judging by the ridiculous furore over the Luggacurren school story and the endlessly repetitive arguments over contraception in *The Irish Times* letter columns from Messrs. Faul, Glennon, etc.

Maybe obsessions with a dying language and sexual love as a deadly sin are part of our much-vaunted Irish heritage. I hope our entry into Europe will at last bring home to us that unemployment, poverty, violence and bad government are far more relevant obsessions (and sins) in this mid-twentieth century day and age.—Yours, etc.,

DAVID O'KANE

Bunnaton,
Nr. Rathmullan,
Co. Donegal.




Hilary Boyle

## Broadberry to Boyle

Sir,—I would like to address a few words to Miss Hilary Boyle. I have been reading your letters to the papers for years, and have felt that your statements are based on theories, rather than on practical experience with people. That you are a person of courage there is no doubt, though your views are more widely held today, than when you first started expressing them. Would you care to meet my "poor" wife and 17 (not 16) children, and then perhaps, you could personally evaluate whether or not they are "polluters"?—Yours, etc.,

DESMOND BROADBERRY.
26 Ulverton Road,
Dalkey, Co. Dublin.

## Christian Prejudices?

Sir, — If Maire Breathnach (*Hibernia*, December 15th) really believes that contraception and abortion in Britain have led to a de-population crisis and shortage of workers in British industry, then one can only smile sadly and hope that such self-opinionated ignorance is restricted to the pure Gaels of Dublin 3.

Has the lady never heard of the world's number one problem at the moment, the population explosion? If contraceptive propaganda is nothing more than a joke, as she suggests, then why are all those economists, agronomists, politicians and population experts worrying themselves sick about over-population and the using up of natural resources? Why has Colombia, the most Catholic and one of the least progressive countries in the Americas, instituted a state programme of birth control?

If Maire Breathnach wants to hang on to her moral theology, then she's welcome, but there will come a time when such expensive and irresponsible Christian prejudices will have to be ditched if the world is going to be a half-decent place to live in. And as for the size of the Broadberry family, I can't help thinking there should be laws against such uncontrolled fecundity.—Yours, etc.,

MILES McCORMACK.
39A Richmond Hill,
Rathmines, Dublin 6.

## Right-Wing Relationships

**Sir,—For once I find myself agreeing with Mary Kenny. If not a special relationship with Paraguay, we could set up a consultative assembly of European repressive legislators with delegates from Britain, Ireland, Portugal, Spain, Greece and observers from Albania, South Africa, etc. Permanent secretariat could be in Ballyhaunis or Ballinskelligs as part of Jack Lynch's "bring employment to the West" drive. Meanwhile the obvious place for the Fianna Fail deputies to sit in the European Parliament, until that august body moves sufficiently to the right to make their presence there meaningful at all, is with their fellow-soldiers of destiny, the French Gaullists.—Yours, etc.,**

**STUART PETERS.**

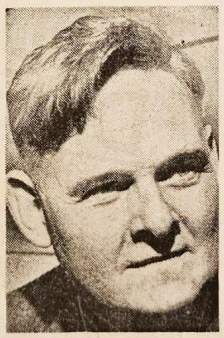
**Kerr Str.,
Portrush, Co. Antrim.**

## Sean's Sins

Sir,—Mr. Hugh Leonard seems to be relying on surmise when writing in *Hibernia* (December 15th, 1972) of the visit of our two archbishops to Mr. Mac Stiofain's bedside. He writes: "For example, since the gentleman is understood to have received absolution, may we infer therefore that he has given the required undertaking to refrain from committing further no-nos in the North."

Why did the archbishops not write and give him details? They should have enclosed with their letters a list of the sins confessed, so that the gentleman could have given his readers the definite information they feel they should have. Or are we living in an age of communications!—Yours, etc.,

THOMAS GALLAGHER.
Tannis Street,
Faversham, Kent.



Charles Acton

## No Offer

Sir,—Reading with sad amusement the last issue's "News in the Arts" (amusement at the inaccuracies, sadness that these should detract from an interesting feature), my smile turned to a guffaw when I found my own name mentioned.

As that mention might place me in a false position, I wish to assure you that, in this context, the only things more wildly unlikely than my being offered the succession to Brian Dickie are my applying for the position and of accepting it if I were offered it.—Yours, etc.,

CHARLES ACTON.
Co. Dublin.

## Clann Man

Sir,—The writer of the article "Publish by Committee" in the December 1st issue of *Hibernia* gave the general impression that he was "in the know" about current happenings within the Republican Movement. It seems a pity to spoil that impression but facts will out. I will not concern myself with the general inaccuracies in the article but will just deal with those mistakes that directly concern Clann na hEireann.

(1) Clann na hEireann is not and never has been dependent on Bernadette Devlin's support. Miss Devlin has spoken at meetings sponsored by us in the past and, more recently, has visited some of our prisoners at present in English jails but at best the contact between Clann and Miss Devlin is sporadic. We have a good working relationship with each other but it could hardly be classified as a dependent one.

(2) At no time did Clann threaten to bring out its own paper. In fact the decision to publish our own paper was prompted by the needs of a growing organisation and was taken months before there was any problem about the United Irishman.

Indeed, if the author of the article did know as much as he would like the readers of *Hibernia* to think he would be aware that we have just published the *third* issue of our paper, *Rosc Catha*. I can only suggest that if he really wants to be in the know that he takes out a yearly subscription to *Rosc Catha*.—Yours, etc.,

OLIVIE CARROLL,
for the Ard Coiste
of Clann na
hEireann.

318 Lillie Road,
London S.W. 6.

## True Gael?

Sir,—In your article on Officials in the issue of 1st December you refer to Eoin O'Murchu as an Englishman of Irish parents. I would assume that if he is a progeny of the Irish race and has no English blood in his veins, he remains an Irishman, albeit he by chance is born in England and thus obtained British Nationality. If a West Highland dog has puppies born in Manchester these do not become Manchester terriers. A man from China or Jamaica will, by his outstanding features, be known for his race, and his son by the same features will be recognised as of the same race, although they can be classed as British because of place of birth. For expedience a man can legally change his Nationality by adopting the nationality of the country in which he chooses to reside. This act does not in any way obliterate the inherent instincts and basic tenets of this race. A man of "mixed" race may have a conflict of feeling within himself, but the stronger characteristics will no doubt emerge.

Eoin O'Murchu can claim to be more of an Irishman than many of the Shoneen stock and Gombeen men that infect our land. How many of the people who may be inclined to deprive him of the name of being Irish can speak their native tongue or even care about the culture of their race or bother or care about the future of an Irish Ireland, where all Irish people, even returned emigrants, and children of emigrants can live in peace and prosperity in their homeland.

Give the youth of Ireland the right to pass on their heritage to their children by making conditions that will stop the emigrant ships and the taking away the rights of first generation children of emigrants to still be classed as Irish if this is their wish. Call them London-Irish if you must, but do not go to the spiteful extremes in which some small-minded people revel. Do not deny to your children what you treasure for yourself. — Yours, etc.,

EBHLIN Ni GHABHAN.

London E.
Address withheld by request.

**Letters should be typewritten, signed, addressed and kept as brief as possible. Long-winded letters will be cut.**

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hibernia
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LETTERS P.2

CURRENT AFFAIRS P.3-8
State of the Nation; Cabinet Changes; The Presidential Year; Saving Turf Lodge; Merlyn Rees—Profile; Post-Primary Education White Paper; British Army—The New Technology; Unionist Party—Down But Not Out; Rent And Rates Strike Continues; Official Sinn Fein Ard-Fheis.

BOOKS P.9-10, 31-32
John Garvin on Ulysses; Bernard Share on Irish Publishing in Europe; Francis Stuart on Borges; Monk Gibbon on Proust and Rilke; Art and Essay Books; Winter's Tales from Ireland; John Broderick.

POLITICAL DIRECTORY P.11-30
Diary of the Year; Who's Who in Northern Ireland; Political Organisations in Northern Ireland; Results of Presidential Elections; Referenda Results; Northern Bibliography, Government and Opposition Spokesmen.

ARTS AND LEISURE P.33-36
Dublin Grand Opera Season; Mary Manning on Old Times; Conor Sweeney; Hugh Leonard; Dorothy Walker; Motoring.

FINANCE P.37-39
Politics and Prices; Boland's Cash Dilemma; Moneybags.

MARY KENNY P.40

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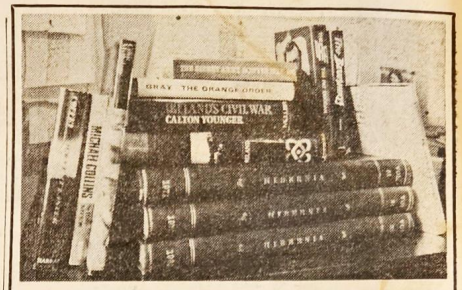


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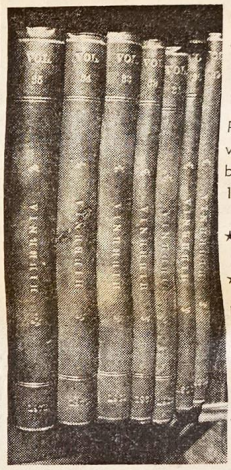

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FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW
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# The State of the Nation

THE YEAR THAT IS recorded in our annual Political Directory and Chronology (see Pages 11-30) was the bloodiest on this island in at least half a century. The final toll of violent deaths in the North came to 467 compared to 172 in the previous year and only 20 in 1970. And added to this must be the first four victims of bomb explosions in the South. But already only the more spectacular of the daily horrors come readily to mind: the thirteen shot by the British Army in Derry on Sunday, January 30th; the eleven killed on July 21st in a single day of multiple bomb explosions in Belfast; the nine blown to bits in the village of Claudy; the six machine-gunned to death in a Derry bar the week before Christmas; some particularly brutal assassinations and the lucky escape of John Taylor.

From the British Army's point of view, therefore, 1972 can hardly be considered aught but a failure. The scale of bombing has certainly decreased since mid-year and both the Motorman operation and the virtual sealing off of the centre of Belfast must be credited to some extent for this alleviation. On the other hand, two new threats to the Army's control of the situation have emerged during the year. The first of these are the new rockets and mortars now being employed by the I.R.A. Apart from the deadly potential of such firepower, their very existence in the North is further evidence of the funds, resourcefulness and support on which the I.R.A. can still count. Despite Motorman; despite the continuing internment, detentions and imprisonments, the I.R.A. is still obviously a force, and a major force, to contend with in Northern Ireland. The second threat to the Army is from the U.D.A. which during 1972 has grown in strength, organisation and equipment to a very important extent. Overall, neither of the two principal objectives of the Army, i.e. of containing the violence, or of separating the men of violence from civilian cover, are any closer to achievement at year end than they were 12 months ago.

The political event of the year was of course the prorogation of Stormont which cast the Unionist Party into a confusion from which it has not yet recovered. Nine months after this traumatic exclusion from power and patronage, Brian Faulkner can count on the support of less than a handful of his former Cabinet colleagues. The strength of his leadership will be tested after the publication of the forthcoming White Paper on the future government of Northern Ireland, but, as of now, it is doubtful that he will retain a majority in the Unionist General Council. A great wedge has been driven in the Unionist monolith of power, and that party, unfamiliar with the practice of opposition politics, and divided by the passionate issues of the day, appears incapable of adjusting to the new circumstances.

Perhaps the second most important political event in the Northern year was the publication of the Green Paper on the Future Government of Northern Ireland, and the recognition therein, amongst others, that "whatever arrangements are made for the future administration of N.I. must take account of the province's relationship with the Republic of Ireland." This recognition is still a long way from offering any direct encouragement to unity, but it could be taken, optimistically perhaps, as the first recognition that the real issue to be settled is not that of Northern Ireland alone, but of the total future relationship between the two islands. Significantly it opened up the possibility of consultations at departmental level of subjects which hitherto had been outside the terms of reference of British civil servants. The sting in the tail, of course, was that "not only should the new arrangements be, so far as possible, acceptable to the Republic, but they should be accepted by the Republic as well." That "acceptance" could be one of the significant happenings of 1973.

It is becoming more widely accepted in Dublin that the British Government is indeed anxious to disengage from the North; that British public opinion will not put up with the "Irish mess" much longer; and that the Labour Party may start to make political hay out of the chaos in advance of a general election. And there is some logic in this line of argument. The continuing Northern conflict is not only an economic drain on the U.K. exchequer; it is an embarrassment in Europe and at the U.N., and is a gradually corrupting influence on domestic British institutions. And obviously the longer it goes on the more serious could be the consequences throughout these islands. For all these reasons, a settlement of some nature, particularly if it can include a southern commitment on joint security, is certainly most desirable to the British Government.

At the present time, however, it looks very unlikely that, whatever the White Paper contains (a Greater London Council type authority, with 64 members, but without security powers, is the current forecast for Stormont, with 16 members for Westminster) it will be acceptable to Mr. Craig's supporters. Nor is it likely to match up to Mr. Faulkner s demands for a strong local parliament and local control of security. Nor will it meet Dr. Paisley's demand for total integration within the U.K. In other words, not only is the "solution" to be an imposed one, but it is unlikely to satisfy any of the principal "loyalist" groupings—let alone the S.D.L.P. or Republican factions. Faced with the ultimate inevitability, however, it can be assumed that Mr. Faulkner will lead a substantial part of the Unionist Party into accepting Westminster's terms and Dr. Paisley is likely to follow suit.

It is also on the cards, of course, that some right wing grouping, either within or without the Unionist Party, will reject the White Paper proposals and establish yet another alternative assembly. Such a scenario might include the mass signing of another covenant in the spirit of 1912 in an effort to attach a democratic appearance to the resistance. The first objective of such an assembly would be to attempt to negotiate a degree of independence within the British Commonwealth, perhaps for a four-county statelet. When that fails—as fail it must—Vanguard will have reached its moment of destiny. In 1973, the Orange bluff must finally be called. It has been sixty years a-coming.

The New Year sees Mr. Lynch entrenched more powerfully in office than ever before. He rode out the Bloody Sunday storm and the overflow of national passions which culminated in the burning of the British Embassy. The subsequent fall of what had been the longest continuous administration in Western Europe and the reimposition of direct British rule over six counties of Ireland took not a feather out of him. The overwhelming vote in favour of E.E.C. entry redounded to his credit abroad and his impressive victory in the mid-Cork by-election demoralised the opposition at home. The establishment of special criminal courts with military detention and his extension of what is perhaps the most repressive piece of legislation on the statute books of any democracy in the world followed and met with only minimal resistance. The year-end has seen the expulsion from Fianna Fail of the last remaining dissidents, while Fine Gael is more divided than before. In terms of political survival, it was a remarkably successful year for Jack Lynch.

It is a sign of our times, of course, that survival in office is regarded as the greatest accomplishment of our public representatives. Mr. Lynch has survived 1972 and by this shallow standard his year must be counted a success. But how will history judge his stewardship of the most powerful political force on this island in a period that witnessed such havoc and destruction? Where are the marks of his leadership? By what contribution will he be remembered? What positive and significant intervention has he made to date in the whole crisis? He has talked continuously of a New Ireland, but where is his blueprint?

Mr. Lynch's survival may continue through 1973, especially if the White Paper contains enough crumbs for enough people to compromise with it. But if, as seems more likely, the conflict spreads further South (and the first four bomb victims south of the border in the last weeks of '72 were a bad portent), the New Year will bring the first real test of his leadership. North and South of the border, the coming year is likely to be a decisive one. Will Jack Lynch contribute something meaningful to it, or is the height of his ambition simply to survive?

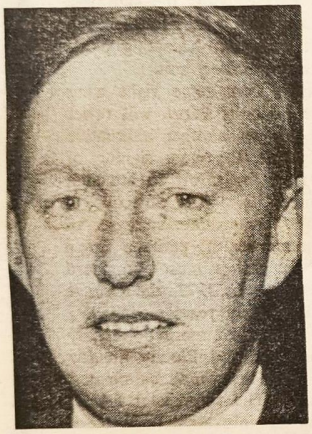
## *The Cabinet*

# The Minimum of Change

MINIMAL AS the Lynch Cabinet changes were, they still provide grounds for interesting political speculation. More, perhaps, for what Lynch failed to do than for what he did.

For the past couple of years, the two front runners for the next Cabinet vacancy have been parliamentary secretaries David Andrews and Michael O'Kennedy — with Andrews who has four years seniority in the Dail over O'Kennedy, on the inside track. When vacancies come up, the parliamentary secretary to the Taoiseach has important inbuilt advantages over other junior Ministers. He is better informed and on the spot at all times, not only in relation to the Government, but to the governing party; for he is by tradition also Government Chief Whip.

It is particularly difficult for a Taoiseach to look his Chief Whip in the eye while promoting another parliamentary secretary to Government status. It also has its dangers, especially if he is passed up more than once. A disgruntled Whip could conceivably bring down his Taoiseach by



Michael O'Kennedy, T.D.

studied carelessness or omissions. A more likely danger is that if his feelings are hurt he might slide towards some rival faction within his party.

There is no need to spell it all out; considerations such as these force Premiers to make sure that their Chief Whips do not become soreheads. Although there were some exceptions, the general pattern here has been that a parliamentary secretaryship to the Taoiseach is the most direct route to a Ministry. So the question remains: why was O'Kennedy favoured before Andrews.

It is not widely appreciated among the public how big a part territorial advantage plays in promotions. It is being asked at the moment why Mr. Lynch should have chosen Mr. Jim Tunney as parliamentary secretary from among a number of equally qualified. One possible explanation lies in the party position in the Dublin North West constituency. Here Deputy Dick Gogan, "a thing of beauty and a boy forever" as some wag in his party has said, seems in any case capable of going on forever, and has no doubt that he'll keep his seat there in the next election. It is accepted that Mr. Tunney will also retain his, probably with an enhanced majority now that he has got a State car and trimmings.

But what of Fine Gael? Dr. Hugh Byrne will certainly be back, but his running-mate of last election, Michael Sweetman is alas dead, and there is nobody in sight with his pulling power.

●

**Q. — WHO is hot favourite for the editorship of the new Sunday newspaper to be published by Creation Ltd.?**

**A.—IRISH Press journalist, rose expert and prolific author ("The Fighting Irish," "Wit of the Irish," "The Irish In Love," etc.), Sean McCann.**

By any normal standards, it would seem certain that Labour would continue to hold a seat in the constitutency, but their man, Dr. David Thornley, moves in and out of controversies that might be very important to him, but which might tend to confuse ordinary voters in the Cabra-Phibsboro area. In these circumstances it might seem to Mr. Lynch a fair gamble that higher status for Jim Tunney might cream off enough extra votes to pip Dr. Thornley at the post for his seat.

Of course, in making one promotion of this kind, a Taoiseach leaves the inevitable trail of enemies behind. It is no secret that ebullient Deputy Joe Dowling, who was well ahead of Deputy Noel Lemass at the last election, felt he should have been preferred above Mr. Lemass for a parliamentary secretaryship; but Mr. Lynch decided otherwise. Joe's ruffled feathers can scarcely have been smoothed by Jim Tunney's appointment.

And what about Charlie Haughey? The cabinet reshuffle is worthy of note as yet another demonstration of the Lynch/Colley determination to keep him out in the cold. It is said that he will be expected to hold his support at the next election, and then Mr. Lynch might—*might*—offer him a parliamentary secretaryship. Many think Charley's pride would not permit him to accept; others see this as the real test of his determination to make it back. It is noted in any case that he was not named on the Fianna Fail team for the European parliament, although this might conveniently have provided a first start for him.

## *Dail Eireann*

# The Presidential Year

WHATEVER ELSE may be said about the Taoiseach's adjustments to Dr. Hillery's departure from the Cabinet, he certainly ran true to form: the absolute minimum action required to meet the situation, at the very last moment, and with the least possible disturbance of himself or his colleagues.

We had the last major reshuffle in mid-1970—not indeed as a result of prudent reassessment to keep ahead of national and international needs, but as a consequence of vacancies caused by Ministerial sackings and resignations, and the urgent requirement of a team wholly loyal to Mr. Lynch. As far as one can indulge by hindsight, if the arms crisis had not arisen in May of 1970, we would today have the same Government, and the same Minister in each Department, as took office in 1969. Mr. Kevin Boland would today be up to his elbows in yet another revision of constituencies, Mr. Haughey would hold the purse strings, Mr. Blaney would be negotiating for our agricultural goodies in Brussels (whether on speaking terms with Mr. Maher is open to doubt), and Mr. Gibbons would be supremo of the Army's Border operations.

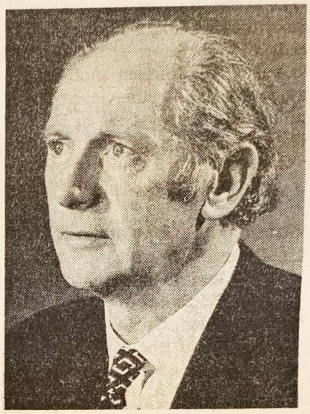
Any "normal" politician would have jumped at the present opportunity for a major reshuffle of his Cabinet, particularly as a gesture of fresh action on entry into Europe. It seemed to be one more of those unbelievable free gifts or bonuses which fall so carelessly in Mr. Lynch's path. And which he so consistently brushes out of his path. No other successful politician would have passed up the chance, but Mr. Lynch doesn't play according to the book. He contented himself with replacing Dr. Hillery in Foreign Affairs, replacing Mr. Lenihan in Transport and Power, and making one promotion from the ranks to fill Michael O'Kennedy's parliamentary secretaryship. Dull, routine, unimaginative. But it's safe, and it works; it helps to keep the boat drifting comfortably to the end of the five-year term in May/June of 1974.

And, whatever about political strategy, or sudden advantage, or Opposition discomfiture, it looks as if Mr. Lynch will remain true to character, and continue to coast along to May of 1974 for the next general election. Everything might be right for "going" now, or in the coming months—everything except that word "Go", which seems to have little place in Mr. Lynch's make-up. Those speculating on an early election might be better advised to drop that phrase as to when he will "go to the country"; and ask instead what is likely to occur between now and mid-1974 to "drag" him there.

He can be "dragged" of course. So far, he has had exceptional luck in the sort of vacancies that have occurred. This might not continue; he could readily have deaths on his side of the House in constituencies, particularly in Dublin, where the seats would go to the Opposition. On the other hand, his run of luck could last out this Dail. His record so far shows that Mr. Lynch is more likely to gamble on his luck than to test his leadership of the tribe at the polls until he is forced to do so.

If this is a correct assessment, then Mr. Lynch will hold the by-elections—and win them—at his ease during the Spring, probably waiting for the new Register in April unless some looming dangerous Dail division forces him to make sure of his majority earlier.

Meanwhile, what is he going to do about the election he cannot put on the long finger



Jack Lynch, T.D.

—the Presidential contest? It is quite obvious that unless he stands himself, or possibly puts up Dr. Hillery, Fianna Fail at this late stage haven't a dog's chance with any other candidate. This explains why there has been such open welcome for the Cosgrave kites in the Lynch camp.

But what happens if, as seems likely, Mr. Cosgrave is not interested? This must be causing some alarm, not in Fine Gael, but in Fianna Fail. It would mean that Fine Gael would still have in Tom O'Higgins the country's only identified and tested Presidential prospect. On the other hand, Fianna Fail would not only have confirmed that they cannot meet his challenge, but would have to live with the humiliation of having their support spurned. In effect, Fianna Fail, not Fine Gael, would have failed to put up Cosgrave.

Some people in Fianna Fail are saying: so what? Is the Presidency worth all the fuss and cost to a party? This can best be answered by looking back at the situation that famous night last month when Mr. Lynch was in imminent danger of being beaten in the Dail and going to the Park. He would then be seeking a dissolution as a Taoiseach who could not command a majority in the Dail; and who could constitutionally be refused a dissolution by the President. In the circumstances, it would be unreal to expect Mr. de Valera to have refused him the dissolution. But what would his position be next July, if a similar crisis were to arise, and Mr. Lynch were to find himself asking President Cosgrave or President O'Higgins to dissolve a Dail which had just beaten him? That is what is at stake for Fianna Fail in the Presidential election—control of the game at all stages.

## *Belfast*

# Saving Turf Lodge

TURF LODGE is a public authority housing estate which lies between the Springfield Road and the Glen Road in West Belfast. The population of 5,600 is crowded into 880 houses giving it a density nearly twice the national average. Although it was only built about twelve years ago, it reflected most of the inadequacies of the immediate post war planning concepts. Even now there are only six shops on the estate and a complete absence of any other type of amenity. The indifference of the Corporation to the needs of the area was highlighted by the campaign the tenants had to wage to get a safety fence erected along the footpath to stop the children dashing onto the main road which was driven through the estate. That campaign illustrated the civic commitment which the early tenants on the estate had brought with them to their new area. Forewarned by the process of degeneration which had turned Ballymurphy into a slum and irked by some of the caustic comments made by the same middle class residents of the Glen Road who were apprehensive about an influx of working-class tenants, the first residents immediately formed a Tenants Association and organised vigilante patrols, which toured the estate after dark keeping vandalism in check.

Unfortunately most of the new tenants came from the Lower Falls or other Catholic areas of Belfast and they took with them to their new homes their old economic handicaps. The extent of those handicaps is featured in a recent report published by the Turf Lodge Development Association. A survey carried out of 62% of the households revealed that 37% of the male population was unemployed. The only other area in Belfast to compare with this is the Catholic district of the Markets.

A more depressing aspect of the picture is that 43% of the unemployed were heads of households, while 60% of them had been unemployed for over a year. Given such a high level of unemployment and a correspondingly low level of local amenities, it is little wonder that the estate is sliding into a malestrom of anarchy, vandalism and despair. The most positive response of the authorities to the deteriorating situation has been the erection by the British Army of Fort Monagh, a corrugated iron stockade of the sort that have been grouped all around the Catholic ghettoes of Belfast.

The level of violence in Belfast generally has undoubtedly aggravated the unemployment situation in Turf Lodge. A high number of the unemployed are drawn from the school leavers of the past three years, many of whom have never had a proper opportunity to look for a job because they have been living in a constant vortex of army raids, refugee movements, etc. Many are unwilling in the light of the murder campaign going on in Belfast to travel out of their district into Protestant areas to seek employment and those who would be intrepid enough to venture outside the area often find security conscious employers looking with some caution at their address and then telling them that there are no no vacancies.

The basic problem however existed before the troubles and is likely to persist long after the troubles. There is only about 60% of the male population which could be considered to be skilled. Since there is no employment in the area, not even in the service industries the unskilled would have to pay the high transport costs involved in working outside the area. Taking in conjunction with the low wages of the unskilled, the transport costs make it unattractive for the unskilled to seek work. The lack of any specific job commitment is illustrated by the fact that only 20% of the unemployed are paid up members of a trade union. The broad based pyramid of economic depression is surmounted by a very narrow top in which only 1% of the employed population had a university or college training. Obviously there is a cycle of unemployment breeding vandalism breeding despair, which eventually produces an economic inertia which paralyses the whole area.

The Development Association have made several proposals to ease the situation. They would like to see a Government Training Centre established in the district and they estimate there is sufficient space in the district to house enough advance factories to provide employment for up to a thousand people. But building advance factories and getting manufacturers to occupy them are not one and the same thing as both Irish governments have bitter cause to know. It is unlikely that the immediate future will see any significant improvement in the manufacturing opportunities available in the Turf Lodge area. A

(Continued in page 5)

# Merlyn Rees: Labour's Northern Ireland Man

## Alan Smith

**Profile**

THE MAN WHO HAS carried the flag for the British Labour Party on Irish affairs for the past year is Merlyn Rees, an amiable, mild-mannered Welshman who certainly has a future in British politics, but who at the moment is far from being a household name.

Rees took on Ireland, initially, as deputy to Jim Callaghan, shadowing Home Affairs. Callaghan became ill and disappeared from the scene towards the end of last year (it was thought he would be out of politics for a year or more, but he bounced back, into foreign affairs); Rees found himself leading from the Opposition benches in Callaghan's absence and was given the formal title of spokesman on Northern Ireland at the time of Direct Rule and Willie Whitelaw's appointment as the British Government supremo.

In their background, the two men present a strong contrast, though there are remarkable similarities in their personal styles and approach. Far from Whitelaw's landed, true-blue Tory, squirearchical history, Rees was born into the Labour movement, the son of a Welsh miner in Cilfynydd, near Pontypridd. The south Wales mining tradition, battered by the First World War and with the hardships of the twenties and thirties to follow, stood for solidarity, mutual help, a searching examination of the guts of anyone who put themselves forward as a leader of men, and a deep and unshakeable "up them" attitude to authority of all description—whatever the Government of the day. The Rees family left Wales during the 1926 General Strike, and carried the tradition, and the scars, with them.

Rees was bright enough—and fortunate, in the thirties—to win his way to grammar school; he later emerged as an economist of some skill and one of the party's intellectuals (he has a book out soon, on *The Public Sector in a Mixed Economy*). He is, though, one of the few Labour M.P.s who genuinely bridges the gap between the party's grass-roots and its academic elite, as a matter of blood and sympathy, not merely intellectual commitment. Rees still keeps collectors' books for his constituency in Leeds and his home near Harrow; while he was a junior minister in the last Labour Government he continued to bang on doors for Labour's shilling-a-month; he would, one feels, still be stomping the streets even if he found himself out of Parliament and out of favour. That would not be true of all Labour's front bench.

He served in the R.A.F. in the Second World War, ending up as a squadron leader. His economic training comes from the London School of Economics, and his more than faintly schoolmasterish air comes from lecturing in economics at Luton College of Technology. He entered Parliament in 1963 (after four tries in Harrow), inheriting the safe seat of the former Labour Leader, Hugh Gaitskell, for Leeds South. He was one of a band of L.S.E.-trained, new Labour blood (Reg Prentice was another) who found their party in Government very shortly after entering the Commons and who are now close to holding the party's reins.

When Labour came to power in 1964, Rees served briefly in the Treasury and then worked his way through junior ministerial jobs in the Ministry of Defence until he arrived at the Home Office (where he had to defend Labour's immigration policy, which he found difficult and at times distasteful). His career has brought him close to Denis Healey (whom he admires) and Callaghan (whom he respects). He belongs to the same band of the party as they do: a little left of the party's centre, a "moderate" anti-marketeer; strong on civil rights; a socialists, certainly, but essentially an academic pragmatist.

Now, at 51, he has just made it into Labour's Shadow Cabinet, and is consolidating his career. In opposition, the Labour M.P.s elect a "Parliamentary Committee" at the start of each session; this forms the basis of the shadow cabinet. It provides a convenient popularity poll, and is a chance for backbenchers to show what they think of their leaders. Rees got in for the first time, this autumn, with 107 votes; last year he polled 25.

This was very much a reward by the party at large for patient work on Ireland, for presenting a coherent Labour case, opposing firmly enough the excesses of Tory and Unionist policy and arguing for radical reconstruction. He has managed to maintain the support and friendship of the Westminster Brigade of Labour M.P.s with Irish connections (or constituencies). He has done better in that than Callaghan: partly because of Callaghan's manner, which caused people to wonder what he was up to at times; and partly because it is a lot easier in Opposition than in Government.

Callaghan left people wondering how far he would go along with a primarily military policy, after the initial impetus of his reform package was spent. Rees has found it easier to carry the party with him—including its Orange wing (which Labour M.P.s prefer to forget) in the trade unions and in some of the West of Scotland constituencies. It is easy to forget, in Ireland, that every death of a British soldier means a funeral, very often in a Welsh or Northern English community; and that every funeral brings a town or village brimful of bewildered anger, to its M.P.

Would Rees have had Whitelaw's job, if Labour had held office and imposed Direct Rule (as it almost certainly would have done, and probably rather sooner)? It is doubtful. It would have been too senior a job for a relatively unknown junior minister. In opposition, after seeing the difficulties Callaghan ran himself into, the party was glad enough to let Rees get on with it.

It has worked for him. He has reinterpreted the "bipartisan approach" to suit a party in opposition. Nobody has ever been very sure what "bipartisan" means anyway; in ten years at Westminster, Rees stood out as disliking the point-scoring, "Oxford Union" style of debating, and has clearly never fully accepted that the Oppisition should automatically denounce the Government when it knew full well that it, too, might have wanted or been forced to adopt a similar policy.

The Opposition job has meant for him a watchdog role, on legislation, civil rights, internees (he was among the first M.P.s to visit Log Kesh) and relations with the South. But the largest part of it has been behind the scenes work in liaising with North and South (he is certainly no stranger to the Irish Labour Party). In public, he very early on gave broad support to the Whitelaw strategy (if not the more disastrous tactics), to the Green Paper after Darlington (with some reservations about the historical bits); it will very probably mean support for the White Paper (now expected in January), assuming that this too recognises the "Irish Dimension." His main contribution, though, has been in private. Wilson and Callaghan still pitch into Irish affairs when the mood strikes them, but Rees' judgment is heavily relied on. He has regular policy sessions with Wilson, and guides the leadership in the now regular exercise of charting events six months or so ahead. This is important, because Labour knows that if and when it is next in Government, it will have to face a showdown — certainly with the Unionists — very rapidly indeed.

**Merlyn Rees, M.P.**

Will he take Whitelaw's job in the next Labour Government? Again it is doubtful. Tomorrow, almost certainly. But much beyond the next few months (and most British politicians who look that far ahead are extremely gloomy about Ireland) and it is quite possible there will be a situation that the leadership would feel obliged to take over. Still further beyond that, especially if Labour is not in Government inside two years, there is a mighty reshuffle brewing. Some of the older Labour stalwarts will be going; others will be displaced. ees leads a generation waiting to take over from the party's established leaders. He could well have moved on before being called to the bed of nails at the Northern Ireland Office.

**Alan Smith is on the staff of The Guardian, and has written extensively on Irish affairs.**

(Continued from page 4)

proposal offering more immediate prospect of implementation is the Association's suggestion that more urgency should be displayed into putting into effect plans already drawn up for improving the amenities of the area by building playgrounds and landscaping the area.

The tenants have been very disappointed with the nonchalant manner in which the Corporation approached this project but they are likely to find a keener awareness of their needs from a new authority which has been created for the express purpose of undertaking such projects.

This is the Enterprise Ulster project, which has been established with a budget of £15m under the direction of the present Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Education, Paddy Shea. Mr. Shea who is to retire from the Ministry in a couple of months time has several assets to bring to his new job. He was for years in the Works section of the Ministry of Finance and so has considerable experience in this field. He has an easy sociable manner which allows him to get on well with the public and he has a very strong commitment to the arts having for years been an active member of the Belfast Arts Club. The latter interest will be of particular value in a job which will be as concerned with aesthetic considerations as economic considerations.

In launching this scheme of economic and environmental rehabilitation, Paddy Shea will not be without some guidelines. For several years the Belfast Council of Social Service has sponsored environmental improvement schemes manned by the unemployed and the result of their work can be seen in the tidier appearance of beauty spots like Colin Glen or the Belfast Castle. It is schemes such as these that Enterprise Ulster will be initiating on a grand scale and areas like Turf Lodge where the needs have already been identified are likely to benefit. It will make only a marginal dent in the pool of unemployed but by giving work to a few and restoring a sense of communal pride to all it could halt the rot which is transforming the area into a contemporary slum.

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**Q.—WHY was Santa Claus driven out of the Falls this Christmas?**

**A.—BECAUSE his sleigh was a white-painted, 10-ton Saracen and his companions were what local children call "Husks" or "Brits" — still carrying their SLRs and batons. Initially, the missiles thrown at him were the chocolate bars (sent to Belfast by well-wishers in Switzerland) which he distributed liberally, but when these were replaced by stones and bottles hurled from the upper balconies of Divis Flats, Santa re-entered his armoured sleigh and returned to his Winter Palace in Albert Street military fort.**

## The Post-Primary White Paper

IN 1969, just prior to the general election, the Department of Education published, and sent to every household in the country, a glossy booklet with the embracing title *All Our Children*. In a foreword the Minister said that the most urgent social and educational objective was *equality of opportunity* (his italics). With the aid of multi-coloured charts and shots of intent and happy children in model classrooms and language laboratories, the booklet projected how the opportunity was to be provided and the equality achieved through all stages from infancy to university. The Department has now announced that it is in the process of preparing a new booklet setting out in detail its plans for post-primary education and it, too, will be sent to every household in the country. In particular, the booklet will deal with comprehensive education in the post-primary area, comprehensive education meaning, according to Mr. Tomas O Floinn, Assistant Secretary of the Post-Primary Branch, a system that provides the facilities to allow a pupil to get the right kind of education suited to his individual requirements.

It is a vague definition and one must sympathise with Mr. O Floinn making it so. To provide equality of opportunity, as promised in 1969, in association with the kind of education best suited to his individual requirements means, in effect, that any pupil, no matter what his ability or social background, should have the right of entry to any post-primary school that provides education paid for by State funds. In theory, of course, he has. In practice it does not work that way. Devices of various kinds are used to ensure that only the most talented applicants, preferably if coming from middle-class homes, are given places. The most favoured device in this regard is the selective entry examination. When asked by *Irish Independent* education correspondent, John Walshe, how he could reconcile this kind of selectivity with the Department's aims, Mr. O Floinn replied that insofar as the Department was concerned there were no entrance tests. It was the best answer he could give in the circumstances. When the Minister was asked a similar question in the Dail, he replied that his function was to provide the service, not control the entry. At a later date the Minister went nearly as far as to deplore the practice, but his Department is obviously reluctant to do anything about it. It is equally reluctant to do anything about the guaranteed places in their free secondary schools to pupils of private, heavily feed junior schools run by some teaching orders, or to the hidden fees in the form of contributions to games, school buildings, libraries and what not as well as the compulsory expensive school uniform. But unless it does act decisively it will find itself having to continue to finance two distinct post-primary systems each providing virtually the same educational programme.

The proposed booklet is, apparently, the Minister's reply to demands for a white

(Continued in page 6.)

(Continued from page 5)

paper, or at least a green one, on post-primary education. The community schools plan which was to be the final solution has gone awry. It was inevitable that it should because of the despotic way it was introduced.

Whether the Minister has learned anything as a result remains to be seen. When, in connection with the publication of the new plan, Mr. O Floinn was asked about consultation on the proposals he replied: "I cannot see that there has been anything lacking in the method the Department used by way of consultation with all interested parties, including the parents". It is doubtful if Fr. Hubert Delaney, S.J., Headmaster of Gonzaga College, would agree. Speaking at a Milltown Park lecture on November 22nd, on distinctive tendencies in modern society such as sensitivity to people's rights, democratic participative government and greater consultation and communication, he said that it was noteworthy that the plans of the Department of Education, insofar as they were known, were the very denial of all these tendencies: the shackling of people's rights, the limitation on the exercise of personal freedom, uniformity and the single blueprint proposal, greater central and bureaucratic control, with its lack of consultation and communication, and, finally, *the simpliste*, unresearched solutions to the deepest and most serious of problems.

Since the successor to *All Our Children* seems to have been conceived outside this kind of marriage of minds, it seems unlikely to receive the welcome it might otherwise have got.

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**Q.—WHERE was the Devil seen on Christmas Eve?**

**A.—AT AN ecumenical service for peace on Belfast's peace-line. The Devil is the affectionate name given by his colleagues to Des O'Hagan, leading member of N.I.C.R.A., and the Official Republican Movement in Belfast and one-time Long Kesh correspondent of the Irish Times.**

## *Officials*

# An Important Ard-Fheis

THE MOST notable absentee from the Sinn Fein Ard-Fheis in the Mansion House last month was the Official Republican leader, Cathal Goulding. And he was not represented by speakers from the platform or the floor, nor was there a statement from the Army Council of the Official I.R.A.

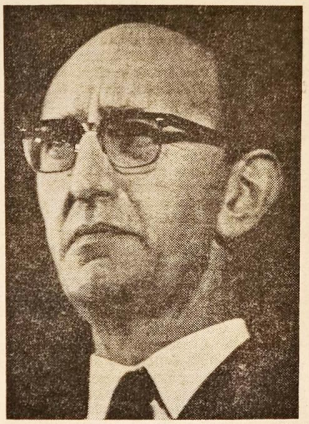
It was, in a negative way, one of the major events of the Ard-Fheis. It was the result of the caution with which Sinn Fein is now approaching the new situation in the Republic, sharpened by the Offences Against the State Act; and the emphasis of speeches, from platform and floor, gave it another dimension. The talk was almost exclusively of politics.

The national organiser, Sean Garland, stressed the development of a revolutionary party, an idea which has yet to be expanded but which implies a new kind of organisation that would be, at once, political and more militant than Sinn Fein has been until now. The party's president, Tomas Mac Giolla, identified multi-national corporations as the major target of the new campaign.

The Official I.R.A. had ceased offensive action in Northern Ireland since early last summer, although it has lost such men as Joe McCann and John Pat Mullan in what might reasonably be described as British Army assassinations. More recently however, the organisation was reported to have been responsible for the mortar attacks on several military targets which resulted in several injuries and three presumed fatalities.

But at the Ard-Fheis there was little tension on the surface between the proponents of the ceasefire and those who might wish to compete with the Provisionals for loyalty. There was, however, a division between those who favoured fighting elections in Northern Ireland and those who were opposed to it. The differences, however, were temporarily shelved, with the remission to the ard-chomhairle of resolutions on the subject.

The Six-County Executive of Republican Clubs is for fighting the local elections that are promised for spring. Some senior Republicans in the South are not convinced: the difference is over the recognition, or implied recognition of the Six-County State.



**Tomas MacGiolla**

One of the main opponents of recognition is the Sinn Fein representative on Wicklow Co. Council, Seamus Costello. At the Ard-Fheis he had circulated a document which presented the view that the ending of partition was essential to the fight against imperialism, an analysis which is not fully shared by his executive colleagues.

The debate, however, now seems likely to be continued in the privacy of Gardiner Place; at least until the special Ard-Fheis at Easter to consider the revolutionary party and new strategies.

## *British Army*

# The New Technology

THE INVOLVEMENT of thousands of troops in the Northern situation for long has been regarded as a cross which British military planners, who have world-wide logistic commitments to meet, have had to bear. Their burden must be lightened somewhat by the knowledge that Northern Ireland, currently an ideal training-ground for anti-guerrilla warfare, is also proving an excellent testing area for British military technology. Since their arrival on the streets, military forces have been helped in their task by the regular introduction of technical aids designed to assist them. Many of these are updated versions of old ideas, while others have been designed specifically for Northern Ireland, but all of them fall into one of two categories: intelligence aids or combat aids.

In the intelligence field there is an understandable reluctance to disclose details of the equipment being used. Thus it is that the acquisition of the MTV1 closed-circuit television camera by the British Army has remained unpublicised. The MTV1, manufactured by the E.M.I. combine, is claimed to be 500 times more sensitive than an ordinary TV camera. According to its makers, it can give a full-vision picture in conditions of poor moonlight and can give an outline view of objects in what the naked eye would regard as total darkness. The MTV1 is not, of course, the first closed-circuit TV system to be used in Northern Ireland by the military forces. Japanese-made Sony cameras have been for some time installed in high positions overlooking many Catholic ghettos and Sony video tape-recorders, costing £3,000 each, are used in Lisburn and Ladas Drive, Belfast, to record all news and current affairs programmes on B.B.C. U.T.V. and R.T.E. Political meetings, funerals and other public gatherings often attract a khaki-uniformed TV crew which is equipped with miniature TV cameras and portable video tape-recorders which are the envy of many civilian TV men forced to lug heavy film cameras about. Television is not the only means, though, used to obtain pictorial records. Film cameras fitted with telephoto lenses and using still and movie film are used extensively. Infra-red and colour pictures, using special film and lens filters, are taken at ground-level and are used widely, also, in the daily aerial reconnaissance flights by helicopters and fixed-wing planes over selected areas. Analysis of these photos often indicates where ground has been disturbed or flagstones lifted. Electronic bugs—miniature microphones and transmitters—like those discovered in Frank Card's meter box and in several other Republican homes, are being used less frequently now. This is possibly due to the technical limitations on their use: they are unable, for example, to filter out unwanted noise. Another eavesdropping device, the telephone tap, has now been developed to the point of perfection, however. The use of multi-track, automatic recording machines now allows many more telephones to be tapped than was the case in the past. There are no indications that any of the more exotic toys beloved by the F.B.I. and the C.I.A., such as voice-print machines, which identify persons by their voices, lie-detectors or directional microphones, which pick up distant conversations, have ever been used. *But there are* suggestions that the continuous collection of detailed information on all the inhabitants of Catholic areas, which has been a feature of military activity since internment, is not unconnected with the fact that the Ministry of Defence has its own computer in the south of England. The punched-tape telegraph transmitters which are fitted to the teleprinters in every battalion HQ in the North are certainly capable of supplying and retrieving information from such a computer.

Most of the technical innovations which assist the Army in its combat role have been made public. Rubber bullets, plastic bullets and CS gas all have had their turn at being the military panacea for Northern Ireland's ills. On one occasion, in the Clonard area of Belfast, they even tried an American gas, MACE, although for some reason the experiment was never repeated. But, while the existence of some devices has been made public, the details of their operation have not. The gelly-sniffer provides an example of this. The sniffer is a portable electronic device which is intended to detect places where gelignite is, or has been, present. It operates on the electrical bridge principle and is a relation of the gas detectors used in industrial locations such as oil refineries. Its big disadvantage—if its abnormally large size is disregarded—is that it detects many things other than gelignite. Chief among these is house-painters, as many members of that profession have found to their cost. A more

(Continued in page 7).

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**Q.—WHO or what are known as 'The Toothache' and 'The Smoothing Iron?'**

**A.—THEY were two of the almost two hundred exotically-named 'shebeens' in Belfast. The first is called after a former dentist's surgery where it is based, the second after a former dry-cleaners. Other colourful names include 'The Frying Pan' (former fish and chip shop), 'The Burning Embers' (a pub damaged by fire), 'The Felons' (full name, the Irish Republican Felons Club), The Nail Bomb, The Cease-Fire and The Barricade.**

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**Q.—WHAT other political party is likely to follow the Unionist lead in seeking a new administrative chief in the near future?**

**A.—THE S.D.L.P. sources suggest that because the task of organising an efficient machine at constituency level has not progressed as quickly as expected, confidence in their ex-B.B.C. producer, Party Secretary Julian Jacottet has begun to wane. However Jacottet has more than two years left of his three-year, £3,500 p.a. contract still to run.**

## Diary of the year

**Thursday, December 14th:** Mr. Whitelaw announces that the plebiscite on the Northern Irish border will be held on March 8th, 1973. A nineteen-year-old girl is killed in a car-bomb explosion in Killeter, Co. Tyrone.

**Friday, December 15th:** In separate shooting incidents in Armagh, Lurgan and Belfast, a U.D.R. private, a policeman and a 16-year-old youth are shot dead.

**Saturday, December 16th:** Two Catholics are shot dead in the North in apparently sectarian murders.

**Monday, December 18th:** A member of the Northern Ireland Police Authority and leading Unionist councillor in Armagh, Mr. William Johnston, is found shot dead near the Co. Armagh border. It is announced in Brussels that Dr. Hillery will become one of the five vice-presidents of the Commission of the enlarged E.E.C. which takes office next January. Mr. Stratton Mills M.P., announces his resignation from the Unionist party because of its failure to dissociate itself from Ulster Vanguard.

**Tuesday, December 19th:** An Ulster Loyalist Council delegation, led by Mr. William Craig, M.P., presents Mr. Whitelaw with their policy document, in which they say they will resist if the United Kingdom seeks to impose its will by force on the Northern Ireland people.

**Wednesday, December 20th:** Five men are killed and four others wounded when two masked men burst into a public-house in the Waterside area of Derry and fire into a crowd of customers with automatic weapons. In three other shooting incidents in the North, a U.D.R. man is killed in Derry, and two men are shot dead in East Belfast and at Loughgall, Co. Armagh.

**Thursday, December 21st:** In Dublin two men, an Englishman and an Irish Garda, appear in the Special Criminal Court on charges of passing official information classified under the Official Secrets Act.

**Friday, December 22nd:** The Provisional I.R.A. begin their three-day Christmas truce.

**Saturday, December 23rd:** The funerals take place in Derry of the five people killed in the public-house shooting last Wednesday night and of the U.D.R. man shot the same morning.

**Monday, December 25th:** The Provisional I.R.A. Christmas truce ends at midnight.

**Tuesday, December 26th:** A furniture store and the council offices in Newry are extensively damaged in separate explosions.

**Wednesday, December 27th:** One man is shot dead and another wounded when troops open fire on them in Strabane, Co. Tyrone.

**Thursday, December 28th:** Two people are killed and at least 14 others injured when car-bombs explode in Belturbet, Co. Cavan and Clones, Co. Monaghan.

**Friday, December 29th:** Mr. Ruairi O Bradaigh, President of Sinn Fein (Kevin Street) is arrested in Dublin and held under Section 30 of the Offences Against the State Act.

**Saturday, December 30th:** Mr. Ruairi O Bradaigh is remanded in custody when he appears in the Special Criminal Court on charges of being a member of the I.R.A. Two young Derry men, one of them Mr. Martin McGuinness, leader of the Provisional I.R.A. in Derry during the period of the no-go areas, are arrested in Ballybofey, Co. Donegal under Section 30 of the Offences Against the State Act and are transferred in custody to Dublin.

**Monday, January 1st:** Ireland's formal day of entry into the E.E.C. passes without celebrations. One man is killed and two others injured in an ambush outside the Rolls-Royce factory at Dundonald. A teenage girl, Elizabeth McKee, becomes the first woman to be detained under the Detention of Terrorists Order in Northern Ireland. The bodies of a young engaged couple are found in a laneway near the border at Muff, Co. Donegal, both with gunshot and stab wounds in head and body.

**Tuesday, January 2nd:** Seven of the nine dismissed members of the R.T.E. Authority reply to accusations by the Minister for Posts and Telegraphs, Mr. Collins, in a policy document "A View of Irish Broadcasting" released today.

Left to right : Mr. William Craig, M.P., Mr. William Orr, M.P., and Mr. Brian Faulkner, M.P.

# *Unionists: Down But Not Out*

OF ALL THE POLITICAL CASUALTIES *in 1972, none suffered more, or has come quite so close to death as the Unionist party. Its state of health was far from* rosy at the beginning of the year with rumours of dread political initiatives from Westminster in the air, but few would have forecast the rapid decline which followed the suspension of Stormont. The rot that set in before Terence O'Neill bade his farewell as far back as 1969 had left the party vulnerable to Right wing pressures, and the removal of power accelerated the process of decay. The moderate centre has all but disappeared, leaving the pragmatists to fight a rearguard action against the out-and-out extremists.

In retrospect, it was a predictable phenomenon in a party which had reigned unchallenged for 50 years, completely confident in its divine right to represent all classes and conditions of Protestants. Labour had tried to chip away at its working class support, to the extent of capturing four seats in 1958, but succeeded only in selling its better ideas for industrial investment to the Unionist Government, before being hammered in the border issue. The business community and the educated middle classes were happy, for the most part, to let the Unionists get on with governing the country in their interests, without getting deeply involved. Come the civil rights revolution, they were ready to back O'Neill, but found that the reins of power were firmly grasped by the Right wingers. They battled on dwindling in numbers, under Chicester-Clark and Faulkner, but direct rule cut the ground from under their feet. From then, on it was a simple question of whether one backed co-operation with Westminster, or defiance, and with Faulkner wavering, the defiant ones have gradually eliminated the co-operators.

In this way, the Unionist party has changed quickly from being a pan-Protestant alliance of Centre and Right, upper, middle and working classes to being a working and farmer class party. There is a wafer-thin layer of landed and semi-landed gentry—exemplified by Lord Brookeborough and Faulkner — at the top, but the dynamic comes from power-seekers like Craig and John Taylor, leading an anti-Catholic and anti-Nationalist rank and file. The middle-classes, who had given their passive or active support in the past, became increasingly disillusioned by the party's antics and either threw up their hands in horror, or deserted to the Alliance party.

Both sides are partly to blame; the Protestant middle classes for shunning, rather than trying to change, the sectarian politics, and the Unionist party for shamelessly using the Orange machine to win power. Or, to dig deeper, those who created the sectarian divide and maintain it, are the real culprits. Whoever or whatever is the cause, the malady in the Unionists will be very difficult, if not impossible to treat. There is scarcely any intellectual or moral leadership left, and while it is patently clear to anyone who looks at Northern Ireland's balance sheet that the first priority should be to keep the £200m. subsidy from Britain coming at all costs, the Vanguard element remains unconvicted. It is obsessed with power rather than the cash which underpins it, and those who have most to lose—in cash terms — the Protestant working classes — are ready at least to contemplate independence. How far they are prepared to follow William Craig along his chosen course is still a matter for speculation but while they allow leaders like Billy Hull to shout defiance, it strengthens the hand of those who want to push the party to the extreme right, as against the hard-headed realists, like Faulkner, who are simply interested in survival.

There is a terrible inevitability about the decline and transformation of the Unionist Party, which was held together by the absolute power it exerted, but Faulkner will deservedly be credited with aiding and abetting the disintegration process. A wiser leader would have anticipated direct rule and would have given Britain every excuse to avoid it. Even if he had made public his last-ditch concessions, rather than wait until the takeover was accomplished, he might have rallied massive support. But having fallen victim to over-confidence, he embarked on a policy of non-co-operation, which eventually had to be abandoned. He would probably argue that it was the only way to hold a stunned party together — to prevent a Right-wing breakaway — but it provided a lead which Craig and Co. have followed to the logical conclusion of negotiated independence. In the short term, it strengthened his position but in the long term it has undermined his credibility to the point where he himself confides that his leadership days may be numbered.

Normally, one would have expected Faulkner's more far-sighted colleagues to alert him to the danger, but their reaction was typical. The intelligent ones like Robin Bailie or Roy Bradford dropped out or dissociated themselves from party policy, while the rest kept mum, in the fond hope that their jobs would be handed back to them one day. Only Stratton Mills, from the comparative isolation of Westminster, dared to try to get the party to face the Vanguard challenge, and was forced into resignation. Men of straw like Basil McIvor remain, in the vain hope that a party steeped in sectarianism and effectively controlled by Right-wingers can ever become a vehicle for reconciliation and reform. Most thinking people abandoned the hope five or 10 years ago, and the events of 1972 only confirmed them in their opinion.

Nevertheless, it is equally unreasonable to write off the Unionist Party as a spent force. It is in the process of change, and can never try to project its old image as "the party of all the people." But if it lines up behind someone like Capt. Willie Orr? M.P. for South Down and a current favourite—as a party which is going to do its damndest to restore the days of the old ascendancy, it could still pick up wide Protestant support. The border will still be the number one issue in Northern Ireland politics as long as it lasts, and the party which can guarantee to put up the strongest fight is going to get the most votes. Alliance may be the thinking man's party but unless it can prove itself a credible force—and nearly all the moderate M.P.s have shunned it—only optimists and idealists will vote for it. Labour's chances have been sunk without a trace by Harold Wilson's pronouncements, and without a leader, the widely-canvassed coalition party is unlikely to get off the ground. No, the Unionists may be down, but they are definitely not out, and it is not inconceivable that Faulkner himself could stage a comeback if, as expected, the White Paper offers him enough to sell his party. Craig could try his backlash, but might soon return to the fold, once the prespect of some kind of power at Stormont was held out. It would be an administration without consensus, and would hardly last, but if Britain wants to end direct rule, she has little choice but to give the Unionists a taste of what they so desire—power.

(Continued from page 6)

successful invention is the bomb disposal robot. This is a tiny, electrically-driven, cable-controlled cart which is used to ferry a small explosive charge to a suspect bomb. The use of the robot has meant a sharp drop in the casualty rate among the Ammunition Technical Officers who deal with bombs, although two were injured several weeks ago when the robot blew up as they were loading it in Clifton Street, in Belfast. The most effective aid to troops engaged on search operations is the metal detector. This is a modern version of the war-time mine-detector. It uses a low radio frequency radiated field to establish the presence of any electrically conducting material—including non-ferrous metals—which is hidden in the ground. Its limitations in urban areas, however, where metal pipes and underground cables abound, are obvious. The portable X-ray machine, which bomb disposal men use to trace the wiring circuits in bombs they were attempting to defuse, has not been seen for some time. The bomb-makers —having been alerted about its use by a much-publicised defusing operation at the Europa Hotel, in Belfast—started filling bomb-containers with a confusing number of wires and batteries, so rendering X-ray pictures useless. The much talked about "personnel radar," brought in for use in border areas at night, has quietly disappeared. The claim that it could pick out a man moving through fields a mile distant was no doubt true. How it distinguished between Loyalist cows and subversive men, or Loyalist men and subversive cows, was never made clear. Gone also is the "electronic curtain," designed to seal off every border road at the touch of a button with American-style level crossing gates. Strabane council had to petition the military authorities to remove the remains of the only gate erected after it had been abused by pick-axe wielding natives.

There is no doubt that so long as the present situation continues military inventors will find both an outlet and a test-bed for their work. But, at £300 million plus, the area, by anyone's standards, is an expensive proving-ground.

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**Q.—WHAT'S the other news from the SDLP?**

**A.—THE long-awaited split between Gerry Fitt and the condominiumists is reported to be imminent. Gerry got the message that Jack Lynch isn't interested, and drew the conclusion that a one-sided condominium is a nonsense. John Hume battles on, but is beginning to look seriously at John Taylor's nine-county solution as a desperation alternative.**

## *Civil Disobedience*

# Rent and Rates Strike Continues

INERTIA IS the most dynamic force operating within the social context of the North at the present time. Its potency can be seen in the unsolved development of the Rents and Rates strike. The strike which developed spontaneously in the wake of internment in August 1971 spawned its own local co-ordinating committees and provoked Roy Bradford's Recovery of Dept legislation in October 1971. At that time the number of households known to be involved totalled 22,000 and the amount of monies outstanding was just over half a million pounds. Over a year later despite the impact of the recovery laws, which have gathered in £1.3 million, and the introduction of Direct Rule, and the agreement of the S.D.L.P. to join in talks, the number of households involved has fallen to 17,900 while the amount in deficit has risen to one million pounds. These figures as given by Junior Minister Howell in Westminster on November 27th do not give the whole picture however.

Howell's figures cover effectively those households which are on a Rent and Rates strike, i.e. rented accommodation which belongs to a public authority. This nowadays in reality means housing belonging to the N. Ireland Housing Executive which is in the process of taking over all publicly owned housing in the North. While only about 34% of the housing stock in Northern Ireland is owned by the public authority over fifty per cent of Catholic occupied housing would fall within this category because of the concentration of the Catholic population within the lower income groups. Thus you get high density concentrations of populations in publicly owned estates like Andersonstown and Ballymurphy in Belfast, Creggan in Derry, Drumarg in Armagh and Derrybeg in Newry. In such areas community solidarity made it relatively easy to get the strike off the ground and since then it has run on its own steam. The co-ordinating committees which in some cases are powered by an exclusive

(Continued in page 8)

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**The hard-bound edition of the 24 issues of HIBERNIA REVIEW, 1972, including the 1971 Political Directory and Who's Who in the Oireachtas, is now available, price 10 gns. The edition is limited to 50 volumes, For details, see page 2.**

(Continued from Page 7)

political grouping and in other cases are coalitions composed of Officials, Provisionals and S.D.L.P. have little to do other than give advice to strikers on legal matters arising from the strike. These centre mainly around the recovery machinery introduced by Roy Bradford which is used to deduct amounts owing from the supplementary benefits due to the strikers. Since in Andersonstown the level of unemployment is 14% of the insured population and there is an average of five people per household in the estate, the amount of supplementary benefits payable in such an area in the form of unemployment benefit or childrens' allowances is significantly higher than the national average and so recovery through this mechanism is easier than it would be elsewhere. As the process passes through a fallible bureauacratic machine however strange things happen. Only recently a student at the New University of Ulster found that over £20 had been deducted from his travel grant to discharge his father's strike debts. The student is currently engaged in trying to prove that though he shares his father's name he does not share his liabilities.

Outside the public authority estates a rates strike which is largely unnoticed in official statements is being carried on by Catholic owner occupiers. The financial effect of this is marginal but since rates demands issue only twice yearly the legal implications are protracted and ongoing. The Rates Department in the City Hall follows a routine process of issuing final demands and then a warning from the City Solicitor before proceedings to seek a Court Order for payment. The Court Order is then placed in the hands of the Enforcement of Judgments office which had been established last year independently of the Rent Strike developments to replace the old bailiff system. It is up to this Office to recover the debt, plus costs, in the most effective manner they can. They will initially try to do this by negotiation with the debtor for an immediate settlement or for a deferred settlement by means of instalments. If this should fail they can then seize goods or make an attachment upon wages. The first procedure is not likely to be attempted in Catholic districts where the physical removal of goods would probably lead to disturbances while the second procedure requires the goodwill of employers which is not always forthcoming from private employers who do not wish to lose the good will of their employees. Rates strikers in the public employ are more vulnerable but even so the process is a slow one. In October some teachers found their salary cheques deducted for a rates debt which had been outstanding since August 1971.

As a method of protest the withholding of payments is infectious and a relatively painless way of indicating non compliance. Former advocates of the law and order lobby are now joining in. Belfast city centre shopkeepers are withholding rates because their businesses have been jeopardized by the gates erected around the city centre. Irate Unionist motorists are refusing to pay their road tax because they cannot motor safely in "rebel" areas of the city and a Unionist viewer is refusing to pay his television license because he believes the B.B.C. is biased against the Protestant people. Regular settlement of accounts is supposed to be a middle class value. It could be that this particular value is just one of the many casualties of the Northern conflict.

## *The Church*

# Scandal In The Assembly

BUNNY CARR'S Sunday evening programme *Encounter* leaped suddenly into the limelight a few weeks ago through an interview with the Rome-based Redemptorist, Fr. Sean O'Riordan. Apart from the fact that the programme never shirked calling a spade a spade in the area of matrimonial relationships (itself a good thing in the Irish context) the programme caused consternation in conservative circles by its suggestion that the marriage tribunals of the Catholic Church might at last be dragging themselves out of their medieval rules and procedures and be preparing to come to terms with the harsh reality of marital breakdown.

*Scandal In The Assembly* is the title given by novelist Morris West and Anglican writer Robert Francis to their recent indictment of the Church court system. The title is not an exaggeration of the reality. Antiquated procedures seem to have been designed deliberately to prevent decrees of nullity being given under any circumstances, and the oath-bound secrecy which governed every step of the system ensured that the vast majority of Catholics were totally unaware even of the existence of the courts.

The "Encounter" programmes did a tremendous service merely by talking about the subject. The Catholic Church *does* dissolve marriages and is at present dissolving marriages at a rate unsurpassed in any former age. In Chicago and some other American dioceses, decrees of nullity are being handed out almost as fast as divorces are being handed out in the civil courts. Some reports suggest that six weeks and ten dollars will see you through, particularly if you are already civilly divorced.

How ready are the Irish courts to deal with this new thinking? It was significant that Monsignor Sheehy, presiding judge of Dublin diocesan court, appeared on subsequent programmes without substantially negativing what Father O'Riordan had said. If the Monsignor is operating his court in the reasonable, commonsense fashion that came across on the programme, then there is hope for Dublin marriages which have irretrievably broken down.

But perhaps we are hoping for too much. There is no evidence that up to the present *a single Irish diocese* has adopted the simplified court procedure authorised from October 1971 by the Roman authorities. Thumbing through the pages of the *Irish Catholic Directory*, one is struck by the fact that the majority of Irish dioceses have not got a single qualified canonist on their panel of judges. It is common knowledge that in some dioceses the three judges assigned to a complex case may be older parish priests who learned their canon law before 1918, when a completely new system of court procedure came into existence. In any case, it is intolerable that a court set up to judge the validity of a marriage should consist exclusively of celibates.

Irish Church courts are certain to be inundated with petitions for nullity as a result of the Encounter series. There is little likelihood that many of these will succeed. Even if there were goodwill on the part of the diocesan authorities, the complete lack of trained personnel will make it impossible for more than a fraction of these cases to be heard, let alone get decrees of nullity.

And what of the rest? In the past, Catholic couples would have accepted the decision of the Church that they should bear the cross of a broken marriage like any other cross—with patience and resignation. That situation is not likely to continue much longer. Couples involved in a broken marriage will tend to demand that the Church, which claims exclusive competence over Christian marriage, will declare to be null any marriage which is *de facto* null. If the Catholic Church, particularly in Ireland, does not act to provide swift justice by means of her matrimonial courts, her frequent appeals for justice in other areas of life will be lacking in credibility. If it is important that justice be seen to be done, it is far more important that justice be done. Church courts as at present constituted are one of the greatest single sources of injustice in the Catholic world.

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**We are happy to announce the appointment of Liz Whelan as our new Radio Critic. Her contribution will appear regularly, starting with the forthcoming issue, January 19th.**


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# hibernia review of books

## The Thousand Year Interval

Bernard Share

FOR IRISH PUBLISHING, entry into Europe will not mean anything immediate and spectacular, since there is a world of difference between books and fast-moving consumer goods (unless, that is, you happen to have landed yourself a best-seller). There has for some time been a growing awareness of Irish culture on the Continent and, whilst we cannot perhaps hope to return to the days when Columbanus and company taught them all their lessons, there exists considerable scope for the profitable dissemination of our literature, history, economics, politics and what have you in the enlarged community.

One of the major problems confronting Irish books in Europe, as in the case of other Irish goods, is distribution. Granted that there is an audience of English (and Irish) speakers, methods must be devised —economically practicable methods—of reaching these people and making them aware of the range of Irish-produced material available. To this end, members of C.L.E./The Irish Book Publishers' Association are undertaking a joint mailing to a selected list of European bookshops, libraries, universities and similar institutions from Oslo to Madrid and from Brussels to Moscow. No one expects an immediate deluge of excited Finns, Frenchmen and Basques demanding copies of Lady Gregory, cost-benefit studies of Bord na Mona or the Poems of Tom Kinsella, but we do confidently anticipate that this mailing will represent the first handful of what we hope to roll into a sizeable snowball in the years to come. Our bi-annual list, *Leabhair as Eirinn*, has already established a bridgehead not only in Europe, but further afield.

What, though, *are* Books from Ireland? They are poems by Irish writers, studies of Irish history and tradition. But they are also biographies of General Amin, studies in universal theology, disquisitions on Karl Marx. Whilst Irish-interest material will obviously remain the staple of Irish publishers, there is a clear development towards the internationalisation of the industry. There is no reason why a book of general interest should not be published in Cork as well as in Paris, or indeed in French as well as in English. The necessary skills, experience and resources require only a sharp stimulus to reach full development.

This takes us, however, from the book selling into the book publishing area and into the tricky question of the disposal of foreign rights. Here the initiative is almost entirely in the hands of the individual publisher, who must go the rounds at the Frankfurt Book Fair or elsewhere and try to persuade the Yugoslavs or the Germans or the Spaniards that a history of the I.R.A. or a genealogical study of Irish families is just what they need. It is a matter, as will be obvious, of trying to aim the right book at the right market and there is no happy formula for achieving success. In this sense, publishing is still, thank goodness, an individualist's world, but the establishment of a distinctive national image (ugh!) is obviously of no great hindrance. The Irish publishing image, in as far as it exists, is probably of a small, somewhat eclectic industry producing books of high quality for a limited market. Nothing wrong with that, except that it is not, in fact, a true reflection of the many new areas being explored by our publishers. We must certainly keep our reputation for high content and production standards. But we must take it a little further than that.

First, however, we must let people know that we exist as a publishing nation. With Yeats, Joyce, Synge, Shaw, O'Connor, O'Casey (not to mention Conor Cruise O'Brien, Bernadette Devlin, Terence O'Neill and, no doubt, George Best) all cornered by the British, this is not as easy as it sounds. The author has some kind of part to play in the success of a book and therefore of an industry: we are not selling pigs and we certainly can't sell pigs in pokes. The better the reputation of the industry, the more good Irish authors we will persuade to row in with it. But it is uphill work building a reputation without authors. A circle of peculiar viciousness.

Practical steps are being taken. A weekend working seminar on aspects of a developing publishing industry will be held in the spring and has already attracted interest from as far away as Singapore and Indonesia. If we have much to learn, we have something to teach as well. And we have been around, in one way or another, for quite a long time. Somebody ought to recommend Columbanus for a slightly belated Exporter of the Year award.

## Blooms of the Field

John Garvin

**BLOOMSDAY: AN INTERPRETATION OF JAMES JOYCE'S "ULYSSES". By Saul Field (Engravings) and Morton T. Levitt (Text). Bodley Head. £10.**

James Joyce

THIS SUMPTUOUSLY produced volume is large as to length and breadth (16" x 13") but in bulk it has a slim content of 120 pages. The engravings have been reproduced from the *Bloomsday Suite*, the first exhibition of which we saw during the James Joyce Symposium in Dublin in 1967. Mr. Field uses a printmaking material of his own, which he calls, *Compotino*, for his engravings, and we are told that this process "enables him to create an intaglio-like effect, with embossing and debossing in the same work."

That Mr. Field can draw is evident from his sketch of the house in Eccles Street; his "James Joyce" reflects his capacity for original and symbolic interpretation of a personality (his Joyce looks like Miltonic Satan, vanquished, but defiant, being sentenced to eternal perdition). His other engravings, however, deal with the themes, episodes and characters in *Ulysses*, particularly with Leopold and Molly Bloom, and here a literary commentator may well join issue with his interpretations and the claim put forward on his behalf that he has a right to interpret subjectively Joyce's *Ulysses* as Joyce had had to interpret Homer's *Odyssey*; Joyce, of course, made no such claim and no such attempt.

Mr. Field's caricature of Blazes Boylan shows behind him a web of cloth with tattered edges, which is said to represent the widespread web of his influence and perhaps also Bloom's unconscious mind *(sic)*. I should prefer to think that Mr. Field means us to understand this to be the web of Penelope. The Boylan picture is crossed by a misshapen Molly Bloom, her mermaid-like body a bright orange hue, her sallow face gloriously crowned with hair that seems to have been dyed with red ink. Not much resemblance these to the ravenhaired beauty from Calpa's lofty mount! The representations of Bloom are mainly confined to the ludicrous sides of his character, which he is obliged to assume while subjected to Circe's metamorphoses.

"Stephen at the Martello Tower" (section 10 of this book, whereas in *Ulysses* it consitutes the first section of the first chapter) conveys nothing of the significance of Joyce's presentation, and Professor Levitt's commentary also fails in relevancy.

Section 11, "Ulysses, Joyce and Field in Nightown," and section 12, "The Ten Shilling House," are intended to cover part of the *Circe* episode. The essay on the first is concerned with a misplaced analysis of the *monologue intérieur* technique (which resists illustration), while the other discusses two-minute, primary sketches of "Molly and Poldy" as "perhaps the most erotic and comic of all prints.". They, in common with all the other drawings and engravings, are neither erotic or comic, but the next section portrays The Scullery Maid, a minor character, rather amusingly: she is giving evidence against Bloom, who, Professor Levitt says, "undresses her with his eyes even as she stand in the dock accusing him." A witness does not stand in the dock.

"Bella-Bello" (14) is described as "a masochistic, transvestite orgy," but in the engraving Bella and Bloom wear their own proper clothes, and Bella is given the face, not of a sadistic man-woman, but of an almost cherubic girl.

The engraving of 'Stephen's Mother and the Fox" is good; it gets Joyce's point that Stephen sees, not his mother's ghost, but her body, "her face worn and noseless, green with grave mould." The next scene depicts the frenzy into which Stephen's hallucination drives him. Joyce's stage direction runs:

*(He lifts his ashplant high with both hands and smashes the chandelier. Time's livid final flame leaps and, in the following darkness, ruin of all space, shattered glass and toppling masonry.)*

Mr. Field must never have seen an ashplant: the weapon he gives Stephen for his smash-all job is a stout, yellow walking-stick with machine-turned handle, not a young wilding pulled from the earth where it was seeded.

In section 19 both the artist and the annotation have gone astray: the nice engraving of Butt Bridge does not depict the Butt Bridge of 1904, and the walk from there to Eccles Street is not by way of Adam and Eve's or within sound of its bells (if any); the bells in question were those of St. George's Church, near Eccles Street.

## Master Writer

Francis Stuart

**SELECTED POEMS 1923-1967. By Jorge Luis Borges. Allen Lane. £5.**

If an international referendum of literary critics were taken I imagine the living writer most likely to emerge on top would be Borges. Not that such a vote would necessarily prove anything about his final place in the estimation of future generations. Incidentally, some critiques of critics themselves is a need seldom fulfilled.

Born in Buenos Aires in 1899, it is within the last eight or ten years that Borges has won wide acclaim for his stories. The present book is an English translation by various hands of his poetry with the original Spanish text alongside. In a foreword Borges writes: 'I cannot say whether my work is poetry or not; I can only say that my appeal is to the imagination. I am not a thinker. I am merely a man who has tried to explore the literary possibilities of metaphysics and of religion.'

It seemed unlikely that the poetry of this writer of some of the most original and exciting contemporary fiction could match his stories, but to me they do. I shall not attempt to review them in the ordinary sense but try, by a few quotations, to suggest their angle of insight.

As with all true art their impact is that of another world, or another way of seeing this one. The modern poet who comes nearest Borges in the shock of his revelations of nature is, perhaps, Pasternak. Though as different as first-class writers always are from one another, as I read it was the Russian who at times came to mind. Both wrote poems about fame and both were aware of becoming more vulnerable as their reputation grew. Here is the end of the one by Borges:

'The rim of the sky is the
measure of my glory,
The libraries of the East fight
to own my verses,
The rulers seek me out to fill
my mouth with gold,
The angels already know my
last couplet by heart.
The tools of my art are humiliation and anguish.'

Borges and Pasternak who, like Blake, deal in the eternal simplicities, are precariously balanced on the border-line of the communicable:

'The patio is the slope
down which the sky flows into
the house.
Serenely
eternity waits at the crossway
of the stars.
It is lovely to live in the dark
friendliness
of covered entrance way, arbor, and wellhead.'

Like Leonardo, Borges recognises a common flux moving through all natural phenomena:

"When the light like a vine
begins twining itself to the
walls still in shadow.'

To exist in a sweet, patient obscurity with natural objects is this artist's dream:

'This is the best that can happen
What heaven perhaps will
grant us;
not to be wondered at or
required to succeed
but simply to be let in
as part of an undeniable
Reality
The stones of the road, like
trees.'

The poe's and the saint's vision of their nothingness are close:

But the days are a web of
small troubles,
and is there a greater blessing
than to be the ash of which
oblivion is made?"

As does Pasternak, Borges often communicates with images from the Gospels; as in this poem about one of the crucified thieves:

'O friends, the innocence of
this friend
Of Jesus! That simplicity which
made him,
From the disgrace of punishment, ask for
And be granted Paradise
Was what drove him time
And again to sin and to bloody
crime.'

Art is not invented marvels but eternal wonder:

'They say that Ulysses, sated
with marvels,
Wept tears of love at the sight
of his Ithaca.
Green and humble. Art is that
Ithaca
Of green eternity, not of marvels.'

# Uninherited Voices

## Oliver Marshall

**WINTER'S TALES FROM IRELAND, VOL. 2. Edited by Kevin Casey. Gill and MacMillan. £1.95.**

THERE HAVE been few good theorists of the Irish novel, but nobody can say the same about the Irish short story. The best apologists of the form have been the masters of the genre themselves and they have been well served by editors of anthologies who have given good airing to the well-worn theories. In his introduction to the most recent collection of Irish short stories to appear — *Winter Tales from Ireland Volume 2* — it is refreshing to see the editor avoid the usual platitudes about the form. His policy, he informs us, was to look for writers with an "uninherited voice," from a desire to avoid the stock situations of Irish fiction: "The dawn of adolescence in rural Ireland can make monotonous reading especially when, as has happened, the stories derive not from life but from one another."

This note of impatience with the image of Ireland that has appeared in some recent fiction has been heard quite frequently in the last decade. Baldly stated, it is the view that Irish writing has become moribund, derivative, and has failed to respond to the country's social changes. One wonders how true this is? To me it seems an over-simplified view of the subject, which has been far more diverse than the charge implies. Where even, if it comes to that, are all those stories of adolescent troubles we hear so much about? Mr. Casey's policy seems justified in the present case, however, by its results. The outcome is a collection of very mixed character, offering us fourteen highly inidividual writers, most of them competent, some excellent, with few shared characteristics. The social range covered is quite wide, from Kate O'Brien's graceful pieces set in a France of forty years ago, to William Trevor's rather overneat tale of two Southern Protestants isolated by the happenings in the North.

What of the individual items? For me, John McGahern and Terence de Vere White stand out most impressively. The former proved a master of the form with his fine collection of stories published two years ago, in which

Kate O'Brien

he plotted a small cycle of human experience with a characteristically quiet and poignant despair. Despite its rather desperate comedy, this new story *Swallows* is as sombre as ever, only this time the mood works without recourse to the highly self-conscious symbolism that distinguished *Nightlines*. McGahern evokes the desolate, constricting rural atmosphere with painful accuracy, letting us glimpse the ageing police sergeant's loneliness and sense of lost possibility between the lines of the story and in the beautifully oblique title. It is only when he becomes explicit that one has doubts: "The smell of porter and whisky, blue swirls of cigarette smoke, pounding of boots on the floor boards, as they danced, the sudden yahoos as they swung, and the smile of the girl with the cloth fuschia bells in her hair as he played, petrified forever in his memory even as he was stumbling home over the cold morning fields." McGahern's fiction as a whole has always seemed to issue from a highly lyrical impulse, evident in the heightened prose rhythms of the novels, and even in the short stories, many of which have the privacy and compression of lyric poems. Only here the lyricism seems easy and somewhat sentimental. That, and a certain theatrical sense of character, seem to me the only blemishes in an otherwise moving story.

Terence De Vere White's "Desert Island" explores a similar plight of entrapment, but does so with a cool, ironic prose that is as different from McGahern's as his social setting. It is a beautifully deployed story that improves the

Terence de Vere White

more one reads it. One can feel the ghost of Henry James flitting aroud the lines, but it is a benign ghost. Best among the old masters is Sean O'Faolain, with his half-comic half-sinister tale of an unadventurous bachelor suddenly entangled in the complicated world of adult passion. Among the younger writers Bernard McLaverty has an exemplary rendering of a conversation between an elderly priest and the young Catholic wife of a mixed marriage — there is something of the dramatists' skill in the way the friction is caught beneath the platitudes and half-finished sentences of the conversation. Kate Cruise O'Brien's story "Ashes" is undoubtedly the most original piece in the collection. I did not enjoy it very much but it uses the form to explore the inner world of grief in a way I have never seen before and which shows real promise.

How one regards the collection as a whole is likely to depend on what one thinks about the present state of the Irish short story. Personally I should have thought it has been slightly eclipsed by the singular achievements of the Irish novel in the past decade. If this is so, this present series is doubly welcome, in ensuring a continuing link between both the practitioners of the form and their public.

# Critics in Wonderland

## Carol Campbell

**ASPECTS OF ALICE. Edited by Robert Phillips. Gollancz. £3.50.**

"WORDS", said the Rev. Charles Dodgson, "means more than we mean to express when we use them; so a whole book ought to mean a great deal more than the writer means". *Aspects of Alice* is an anthology of the "great deal more" that has been discovered in his books, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and *Through the Looking-Glass* in the century since he first published them under the pseudonym of Lewis Carroll.

Approaches to the Alice books depend on the critic's attitude to Dodgson, their creator, in many cases. This shy, socially inept and pedantic bachelor for twenty-six years lectured in mathematics at Oxford, without great distinction. He produced several works on mathematical subjects; he was particularly talented as an amateur photographer; he achieved local notoriety as a pamphleteer on university controversies, as a minor inventor and as a confirmed writer of letters to the press. He is, however, remembered in connection with his nonsense books for children, of which only the Alice stories are read today.

Certain of his critics take the *Alices* at face value as children's tales, the first being a story told to the little daughter of the Dean of Christ Church, Alice Liddell, on an afternoon's outing "up the river to Godstow". Even at that, they are remarkable for their humanitarian approach to the child and their freedom from the sentimentality and didacticism all but universal in Victorian children's literature up to Carroll's time.

Is there more? Various readers have found allegories of Church and state, Darwinism, philosophy and linguistic debate, and in many cases have convincingly demonstrated them by comparing the Alice stories with the topics which must have occupied Dodgson's mind in the 1860s. These allusions would certainly have been above the first Alice's head; but that is no reason for dismissing the theories. Such a man as Dodgson could be expected to amuse himself with such whimsical concoctions—though we know that he rejected interpretations and frequently emphasised the nonsensical nature of *Alice*.

The possibility of depths of meaning which Dodgson did not suspect has not escaped certain writers of the psychoanalytical school, who contribute a large section to *Aspects of Alice*. Dodgson's withdrawn personality and eccentric habits, particularly his propensity for developing intimate friendships with little girls in whom he lost interest as they became adolescent, were, to say the least, unusual; but the psychoanalytic interpretations would be more convincing if they happened to coincide more frequently. The fantasies here out-Carroll Carroll in richness and variety, though they are unfortunately not tempered by any Carrollian sense of humour; however, as this work is important in the history of Carroll criticism, its place in the anthology is justified. William Empson's essay is the best-written and most widely informed of this group.

Phillips further broadens the range of the collection by including reprints of the Victorian poetry which has lived on only in Dodgson's parodies, poems by Robert Graves, Allen Tate and Grace Slick and comparisons of *Alice* with such diverse works as the Ode on the Intimations of Immortality and *Don Quixote*. The most obvious deficiency is in contributions from the nineteenth century; though *Alice* enjoyed great popularity in Dodgson's lifetime and must have engendered comment then, this period is represented only by a couple of reviews, a snippet from a letter and an obituary. *Aspects of Alice* is, however, an anthology of wide scope and often intriguing content. It should certainly fulfil its editor's hope of sending the reader back to the Carroll books "with something like new wonderment as well as new understanding".

# Tidy Drawing-Rooms

## John Boland

**COLLECTED POEMS 1950-1970. By Donald Davie. Routledge and Keegan Paul. £3.75.**

**THE RAIN-GIVER. By Kevin Crossley-Holland. Deutsch. £1.50.**

DONALD DAVIE is one of the most accomplished of living poets, but he is also afflicted by what A. Alvarez terms the "gentility principle." One may resist Alvarez's assertion that this is the besetting vice of all those poets who are not members of his cult-of-chaos school (the most esteemed members of which are Ted Hughes, Sylvia Plath, Robert Lowell and John Berryman — esteemed by Alvarez, that is), but it is difficult not to regard Davie as being often too genteel for his own good.

It's not a question of the possession of a quiet, reserved tone: Philip Larkin possesses such a tone and is still able to bring the reader to the edge of the abyss. But one can't help feeling that Davie doesn't have as profound a response to the essential facts of life as Larkin has, and that this is the reason why his Augustan elegance is inclined to remain almost too simply Augustan and elegant.

This is not to belittle such virtues (a bit more elegance might help to make Hughes's later poems a little less banal, for instance). But the effect of decorum for its own sake is apt to remind one of the comparison between contemporary English writing and a disused billiard table: the surface is superb, the cues have been fashioned with craft, the wood is perfectly polished, but it lacks balls.

If one is criticising Davie in this fashion, one has to admit that he has said it himself, and with more point and brevity, in a fifties poem entitled "Limited Achievement":

> The same few dismal properties, the same
> Oppressive air of justified unease,
> Proclaim the practised hand from which they came,
> Although these show a willingness to please.

Davie's poetry is, for the most part, of the academic drawing-room variety, and even his fine poems about Ireland (written during his so-

Donald Davie

journ in T.C.D.) contain somewhat too many complacencies of the peignoir. Of late, he has committed himself to voluntary exile on the American west coast. The geographical landscape has changed, but the mental and moral outlook of the poet have not really been noticeably affected by the physical climate. Karl Miller obviously thinks otherwise: in a recent essay, he singled out the final stanza of one of Davie's 'American' poems, "Or, Solitude," as marking a significant change of course in the poetry of Davie and of other poets, the clarion-call of a new-old Movement:

> The metaphysicality
> Of poetry, how I need it!
> And yet it was for years
> What I refused to credit.

It is not difficult to resist Mr. Miller's rampaging bull-like through Davie's tidy drawing-room. The drawing-room, moreover, remains tidy; so tidy, in fact, that one is half afraid to take a seat in it in case one upsets its decorum. Again from the poem, "Limited Archievement" Davie has the last word:

> Successful in his single narrow track,
> He branches out, but only to collapse,
> Imprisoned in his own unhappy knack,
> Which, when unfailing, fails him most, perhaps.

One can admire the well-wrought urn and regret that not enough risks were taken to transform the urn into magical, mysterious art.

Kevin Crossley-Holland is best known by English literary students for his Anglo-Saxon scholarship. And, as might be expected, the shades of Beowulf and Grendel loom behind many of the poems in this volume. When he is not rooting around among the currently fashionable mythological bones of Norfolk and environs, he scrutinises the debris of a failed marriage. The technique is assured, the tone of voice less so, and one leaves down the book feeling that the contents are worthy and not very exciting.

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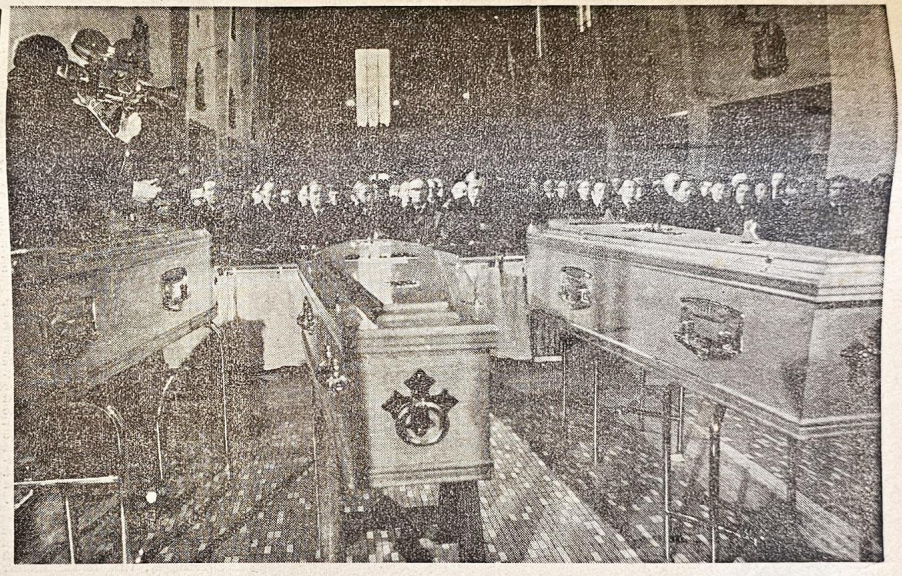
FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW

## CONTENTS


| | |
|---|---|
| Who's Who in Northern Public Life | Ps. 19-22 |
| Chronology of Political Events | Ps. 11-30 |
| Presidential Election Results | P. 15 |
| Northern Political Organisations | Ps. 20-21 |
| Northern Bibliography | P. 22 |
| Referenda Results | P. 26 |
| Cabinet and Opposition Spokesmen | P. 29 |


## JANUARY



**The funeral of the thirteen people shot dead by British paratroopers, attended by politicians and dignitaries north and south of the border.**

**1st**—About 5,000 people from both sides of the border attend the funeral of Mr. Jack McCabe, a leading member of the Provisional I.R.A., who was killed in an explosion at Santry, Co. Dublin.

**2nd**—The Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association returns to the streets by holding an anti-internment march in Belfast in defiance of the Stormont ban on parades.

**3rd**—Sixty-two people are injured following a bomb explosion in Belfast.

**4th**—Dr. John Charles McQuaid, announces his resignation as Archbishop of Dublin on age grounds; his successor is Rt. Rev. Professor Dermot Ryan. The Minister for Justice, Mr. O'Malley, tells journalists in Dublin that he did not think it was necessary to create more severe penalties for illegal possession of firearms.

**5th**—A British Soldier is shot dead in Belfast and another wounded in Derry. The B.B.C. television debate on Northern Ireland takes place despite efforts by the Stormont Government to have it stopped.

**6th**—Contingency plans are announced for the opening of a second Internment camp at Magilligan in Co. Derry. The Labour Party at a joint meeting of its executive and parliamentary party adopts by 27 votes to 3 a "Peace not Violence" policy on the North.

**7th**—A member of the Provisional I.R.A. escapes from the top security Holywood barracks interrogation centre, near Belfast.

**8th**—Twenty-eight people, including seven children and eight British Soldiers, are injured when a booby-trapped house explodes in Belfast.

**9th**—An article in the *Sunday Independent* alleges that phones of prominent politicians are being tapped by the Department of Justice. The Minister for Justice, Mr. O'Malley, denies the allegation.

**10th**—Negotiations between Ireland and the E.E.C. to fix the size of the Irish sugar quotas in the enlarged community reach deadlock when Dr. Hillery tells the Six that he does not have the authority to accept their final offer of 150,000 tons.

A volley of shots are fired during the funeral of Miss Mairin Keegan, a member of Saor Eire, in Dublin.

**11th**—A man with a gunshot wound in his head is found dead in Belfast. After a long Cabinet meeting in Dublin the Government decides to accept the E.E.C's. offer of a sugar quota of 150,000 tons.

**12th**—A member of the R.U.C. Reserve is shot dead in Belfast. Major Ronald Bunting's son, who is a member of the Northern Civil Rights Association is issued with an internment order. The Government announce revised security arrangements for stocks of explosives, following recent thefts around the country.

**13th**—A member of the Ulster Defence Regiment is shot dead just outside Belfast. Sixty-two people are arrested by the British Army mainly in the New Lodge area of Belfast.

**14th**—Mr. Brian Faulkner, the Northern Prime Minister, says on television that internment has been successful in removing "vast numbers of gunmen and would-be-murderers from the streets". The Government in a white paper published on the Common Market, predicts that the first five years of E.E.C. membership will mean a net increase of 50,000 jobs.

**15th**—The Workers' Union of Ireland vote by 74 votes to 62 in favour of Ireland's entry into the Common Market.

**16th** — The new internment camp at Magilligan in Co. Derry receives its first internees from the prison ship, Maidstone. Dr. Roy Johnston, former Ard Chomhairle member of Sinn Fein (Gardiner Place), announces his resignation because of intensification of I.R.A. military activity in the North.

**17th**—British troops fail to find seven internees who swim to freedom from the prison ship, Maidstone, in Belfast Lough. Joseph Dillon and Sean Morrissey plead not guilty to the murder of Garda Richard Fallon, when the trial opens in the Central Criminal Court, Dublin.

**18th**—It is announced that the ban on parades in Northern Ireland, which expires next month, is to be extended for a further year. A bus driver who was due to be a court witness is shot dead in front of his family in Belfast.

**19th**—The Fine Gael Parliamentary Party reaffirms its earlier decision in favour of entry into the E.E.C., and decides to conduct a full-scale pre-Referendum campaign.

**20th**—The British Army in the North claim to have uncovered evidence that a mass break out was being planned by internees at Long Kesh internment camp.

**21st**—A British soldier is killed when three mines explode on a border road near Keady in Co. Armagh.

**22nd** — The Taoiseach, Mr. Lynch, and the Foreign Minister, Dr. Hillery, sign the treaty of Ireland's accession to the E.E.C. at Brussels. A mass rally against the E.E.C. organised by the Common Market Defence Campaign is held at the G.P.O. Mr. John Hume, M.P., condemns the actions of British Paratroopers during a protest march to Magilligan Internment Camp in Co. Derry.

**23rd**—A British soldier is injured and many people, including several gardai, are overcome by CS gas during a three-hour confrontation between British troops and about 100 civilians at a road crater on the Monaghan-Fermanagh border.

**24th**—A group of 39 members of the Labour Party in Limerick announce their resignation from the party. They include Mr. James Kemmy and Mr. Tony Crowley, a member of the Administrative Council. The seven men who escaped from the prison ship, Maidstone, in Belfast Lough attend a press conference in Dublin organised by the Provisional I.R.A.

**25th**—There is speculation in Belfast that a number of prominent Unionist politicians, all of them identified politically as moderates, are planning to leave the official Unionist Party and either form a new grouping or join the Alliance Party. Mr. Gerry Fitt, M.P., says he will put down a question at Westminster complaining about the actions of the British Army's crack parachute regiment in the Belfast and Derry areas.

**26th**—In a day of twenty-five bombings throughout the North, one man is killed outside an R.U.C. station in Castlewellan, Co. Down. Two Unionist M.P.s., Captain Robert Mitchell and Mr. John Laird, are expelled from the Unionist Party after voting against the Government in Stormont.

**27th** — Two policemen are killed in Derry following an ambush on a police patrol, and at Forkhill on the Armagh-Louth border a gun battle takes place between the Provisional I.R.A. and the British Army. A jury in the Central Criminal Court finds Joseph Dillon and Sean Morrissey not guilty of the murder of Garda Richard Fallon.

**28th**—A policeman is shot dead in the Oldpark area of Belfast. The Irish Congress of Trade Unions decides to oppose E.E.C. entry on the terms negotiated by the Government and to campaign against membership in the forthcoming referendum.

**29th**—Five people are arrested and CS gas and rubber bullets are fired as about 500 civil rights marchers in Dungannon break the Stormont ban on parades.

**30th**—Thirteen people are shot dead in Derry after a confrontation between a banned Civil Rights march and British Paratroopers. A statement by the British Army that they had been fired upon is denied by local people and Civil Rights leaders.

**31st**—A day of massive and widespread protests follows the killings in Derry. The Taoiseach, Mr. Lynch, announces that the following Wednesday will be a National day of mourning and recalls the Irish Ambassador in London. An attempt to burn down the British Embassy in Dublin is thwarted when Gardai baton-charge a crowd at the end of a meeting organised by Sinn Fein (Gardiner Place).

# FEBRUARY

**1st**—In a day of massive protests against the Derry killings, two bomb explosions in Dublin destroy the branch office of the Royal Liver Society in Dun Laoghaire and blow the door out in the British Embassy.

The British Prime Minister, Mr. Heath announces that Lord Chief Justice Widgery will conduct an inquiry into the killings.

**2nd**—The British Embassy in Dublin is burned following the biggest demonstrations the country has seen in the past generation. At least seventy people are injured in clashes with Gardai following the burning.

About 20,000 people attend the funerals of the Derry victims, among them five Fianna Fail Ministers and a representative of the President, Mr. De Valera.

**3rd** — The British Army announce that they are sending 550 more troops to the North, bringing the total to about 15,000.

Demonstrators try to burn down the British Rail offices in Cork, and dozens of petrol bombs are hurled at the building.

**4th**—Mr. Brian Faulkner, the Northern Prime Minister, has talks with the British Prime Minister, Mr. Heath, and other senior British Ministers.

British troops seal off Newry and all traffic entering the town is searched.

**5th** — Two bodies are found mutilated following an explosion in a dredger on Lough Neagh, South Antrim.

**6th**—Over 50,000 people defy the Stormont ban on parades by taking part in a massive peaceful demonstration in Newry organised by the Northern Civil Rights Association.

About 1,400 lbs of gelignite is stolen in a raid on the new ESB generating station at Turlough Hill, Co. Wicklow.

**7th**—A member of the Provisional I.R.A. escapes from Long Kesh internment camp, the first to do so.

**8th** — Belfast police confirm that a hooded body found near the Border at the weekend is that of David Seaman—who claimed at an Official I.R.A. press conference last September that he was a British Army secret agent in Ulster.

Mr. Kevin Blaney, a brother of Neil Blaney, resigns from Fianna Fail and joins Aontacht Eireann.

**9th**—The first reading of Dr. Noel Browne's Bill on Contraception is defeated in the Dail by 75 votes to 44.

Disruption Day in Northern Ireland to mark the first six months of Internment is marked by protests all over the North.

**10th**—Two British soldiers are shot dead and a third seriously wounded in an ambush near Newtownhamilton, Co. Armagh.

**11th** — The Taoiseach and members of the Government discuss the Northern situation with representatives of the Assembly of the Northern Irish People, including Mr. Gerry Fitt, M.P., and Mr. John Hume, M.P.

**12th**—Mr. William Craig, M.P., former Minister of Home Affairs, inspects about 600 men drawn up in military formation at Lisburn, and along with a thousand others takes a pledge to prevent any inclusion of Northern Ireland in the Republic. The meeting is organised by the Ulster Vanguard Movement.

**13th** — More than 12,000 Republicans take part in a march through Dublin organised by Sinn Fein (Kevin Street). Among the speakers at a meeting at the G.P.O., is Mr. Francis McGuigan, the first man to escape from Long Kesh internment camp.

At the end of the annual conference of the Northern Civil Rights Association in Belfast, a proposal for formalised links with the Alternative Assembly of Opposition Politicians and the Northern Resistance Group is defeated.

Election to the C.R.A. executive is as follows: Mr. Kevin McCorry; Mr. Desmond O'Hagan (at present interned in Long Kesh); Mr. Ivan Barr; Mrs. Edwina Stewart; Mrs. Kitty O'Kane; Mrs. Rebecca McGlade; Mr. Rory McShane; Miss Margot Collins; Mr. Kevin Boyle; Mr. Dennis Cassin (at present interned in Long Kesh); Mr. Raymond O'Hagan; Mr. Joe Deighan; Mr. Frank Gogarty; and Mr. James Doris.

**14th** — The Widgery Inquiry into the Derry killings opens in Coleraine. After the preliminary hearing Mr. John Hume says he is totally opposed to the inquiry,

**15th**—For the first time in six months the R.U.C. enter the Bogside in Derry, to serve a summons on Mr. John Hume, M.P. for his part in the Newry march.

Four men and a youth are shot and seriously wounded in three incidents in Belfast.

**16th**—A Catholic member of the Ulster Defence Regiment is kidnapped and shot dead in Derry, and a British soldier is killed following a bombing and shooting incident on the M1 motorway near Belfast.

**17th**—A special conference of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union unanimously approves, in principle, a second "National Wage Agreement".

**18th**—Fianna Fail Ard-Fheis at the R.D.S. in Dublin gives the Taoiseach, Mr. Lynch, and the National Executive a unanimous vote of approval in spite of a challenge by Mr. Neil Blaney. Three Stormont M.P.s, two Unionist and a non-Unionist, join the Alliance Party. They are Mr. Phelim O'Neill, a former Unionist Minister; Mr. Robert McConnell and Mr. Tom Gormley, a Catholic Abstentionist M.P.

**19th** — Mr. William Craig, M.P., inspects about a thousand men drawn up in military rank at an Ulster Vanguard rally in Bangor, Co. Down. A British soldier and a policeman are seriously wounded after shooting incidents in Derry and near Crossmaglen, Co. Armagh. At the Fianna Fail Ard-Fheis the Minister for Justice, Mr. O'Malley, says that the men who were acquitted on arms charges very recently would be re-arrested and returned for trial. He also refuses to rule out the possible introduction of 'military or special courts.'

**20th**—Among the new officers of the Fianna Fail Party elected at the Ard-Fheis is Mr. Charles Haughey, T.D., former Minister for Finance. The election results at the Ard-Fheis are as follows: **President,** Jack Lynch. **Vice-Presidents:** Sean Mac Entee, Patrick Smith, Erskine H. Childers, Michael Hilliard, Charles J. Haughey; **Hon. Secretaries:** Joseph Groome, P. J. Hillery; **Hon. Treasurers:** Anthony J. Hederman, S.C.; George Colley; **Ministerial representatives:** Joseph Brennan, T.D.; Gerard Collins, T.D.; Brian Lenihan, T.D.; **Oireachtas Panel:** David Andrews, T.D.; Sylvie Barrett, T.D.; P. J. Burke, T.D.; Senator Mark Killilea, Senator Eoin Ryan; **Constituency delegates:** D. J. McDonald (Cavan), Senator J. J. Brennan (Monaghan), Thomas Brennan (Donegal-Leitrim), Pat J. Williams (Carlow), Patrick Teehan (Kilkenny), Edward Brennan (Dublin N.E.), John Kenny (Dublin Central), Ray Walsh (Dublin N.W.), Thomas F. Gray (Dublin Central), Pat Cummins (Dublin S.E.), John Doohan (Dublin S. Central), Tony Kelly (Dublin S.W.), Senator Sean Walsh (Dublin North County), Eamon Davis (Dublin South County), Senator Neville Keery (Dun Laoghaire - Rathdown), Terence Gilleece (Kildare), Liam Hyland (Laois), John J. Kilmartin (Offaly), Michael O'Finn (Longford), James O'Brien (Westmeath), Senator Joe Farrell (Louth), Senator Pat Fitzsimons (Meath), Denis Byrne (Wexford), Tom Kerr (Wicklow), Senator D. Honan (Clare), Edward Horgan (Cork), Thomas Ahern (Cork Borough, N.E.), Denis Lyons (Mid-Cork), Martin J. Correy (Cork N.E.), John J. Cahalane (Cork S.W.), Thomas McEllistrim (Kerry N.), Sean Walsh (Kerry S.), Patrick Kiely (Limerick E.), Michael Kennelly (Limerick W.), Joseph Bergin (Tipp. N.), John Kennedy (Tipp. S.), Sean Ryan (Waterford), Hugh Melvin (Clare-Galway), Timothy Cronin (Galway N.E.) Mrs. Philomena Coyne (Galway W.), William Farrell (Leitrim), Patrick Walsh (Sligo), Sean Calleary (Mayo East) Senator T. P. Flanagan (Mayo W.), Seamus de Brun (Roscommon-Letrim).

**21st**—Four young men are killed when the car they are in blows up in a Belfast suburb.

Relatives of the 13 civilians killed in Derry's 'Bloody Sunday) decide to give evidence before the Widgery Tribunal.

**22nd**—Following an explosion at the Parachute Brigade Headquarters at Aldershot in England, in which seven people are killed, Mr. Cathal Goulding and three other leading members of the Official I.R.A. who claimed responsibility for the blast, are arrested by Special Branch officers in midnight swoops.

**23rd**—Northern Ireland Lord Chief Justice, Sir Robert Lowry, rules that the Northern Government, by making a regulation under the Special Powers Act with respect to operations of British Forces in the North, is in Contravention of powers given it under the Government of Ireland Act 1920.

The death takes place in Dublin of Senator James Dunne, former President of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions, and Secretary of the Marine Port and General Workers' Union.

**24th**—Nine more Republicans are arrested under the Offences Against the State Act, Section 30, bringing the total to eighteen in a period of 24 hours. The Town Hall in Strabane, Co. Tyrone, is completely destroyed by a bomb planted by twelve armed men.

**25th**—Mr. John Taylor, the 34-year-old Minister of State at the Stormont Ministry of Home Affairs, is seriously wounded in an assassination attempt on his life in Armagh City. The Annual Conference of the Labour Party which opens in Wexford, condemns the shooting of Mr. Taylor. The three Independent Fianna Fail deputies, Messrs. Neil Blaney, Paudge Brennan and Des Foley, announce that their undertaking of support for the Government has been withdrawn. There are four more arrests of Republicans under the Offences Against the State Act, including Mr. Sean O'Cionnaith, the United States organiser for Sinn Fein Gardiner Place.

**26th**—Mr. Brendan Corish, Leader of the Labour Party, in his address to the Annual Conference, says that Labour's policy is that the present Twenty-Six County Constitution should be scrapped in its entirity and "replaced by a genuinely Republican document devoid of any taint of sectarianism."

**27th**—Mr. Roddy Connolly is re-elected chairman of the Labour Party, defeating Mr. Matt Merrigan, General Secretary of the Amalgamated Transport and General Workers Union. The election results at the Conference are as follows: **Chairman:** Mr. Roddy Connolly; Vice-Chairman: Mr. Niall Green; **Financial Secretary:** Mr. Donal O'Sullivan; **Administrative Council:** Michael O'Higgins (West Galway); Maisie Mc Connell (West Clontarf); Tom O'Brien (Whitechurch); Frank King (Bullygunner); Herbert Devoy (Thomastown); Patrick O'Brien (Tralee); Pat Kerrigan (Mayfield/Dillons Cross); Joe Bermingham (Castlemitchell); Des Bonass (Donnycarney); Marie Walshe (Templeogue); Dan Browne (Sheehy Skeffington branch); Sean Hayes (Doon); Tommy Byrne (Wexford); Ned Brennan (Killenaule); Andy Doyle (Enniscorthy); Bill Conroy (Carrigtwohill); Paddy Kavanagh (Castleabbey).

**28th**—Two men are shot and wounded in Belfast and a British soldier is wounded in Dungannon.

**29th**—A member of the Ulster Defence Regiment is shot dead in his home at Lurgan, Co. Armagh.

**After three consecutive nights of rioting, the British Embassy, in Merrion Square, is burnt down by crowds protesting at the "Bloody Sunday" shootings in Derry.**

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# And whiskey is Power's Gold Label.

# MARCH

**1st**—Two youths are found shot dead in a van parked outside the casualty department of the Royal Victoria Hospital, Belfast.

**2nd**—The British Prime Minister, Mr. Heath, announces that the techniques of hooding, wall-standing, subjection to noise, and deprivation of food and sleep, used in the interrogation of internees in Northern Ireland, will not be used in future.

**3rd**—The Taoiseach, Mr. Lynch, calls on the minority in the North, in the interests of peace, to agree to participate in the operation of a Northern administration, provided that the expected political initiatives from Britain are " exceptional and radical."

**4th**—Two women are killed and 136 people are injured, many seriously, in an explosion at the Abercorn Restaurant, Belfast.

A Catholic and former member of the Ulster Defence Regiment is found shot dead in Derry.

**5th**—The Provisional and Official I.R.A. deny responsibility for the Abercorn Restaurant explosion, and blame the incident on Protestant extremists.

**6th**—The Minister for Education, Mr. Faulkner, says in the Dail that he is considering the possibility of adopting a new policy towards the Irish language in schools.

**7th**—Nine industrial projects which would employ 1,000 people, are postponed (according to the I.D.A.), as a direct result of the burning of the British Embassy in Dublin.

**8th**—A member of the Ulster Defence Regiment is shot dead at the border in Co. Armagh. He is the fifth U.D.R. man to die this year in the North.

**9th**—Three members of the Provisional I.R.A. die in an explosion which wrecks a house in Clonard Street, Belfast.

Thousands of Loyalists workers stop work for four hours in support of a demand for more stringent security measures to be taken against the I.R.A.

**10th**—The Provisional I.R.A. announce a 72-hour cease-fire in the North, and list three demands for a continuing peace :

(1) "An immediate withdrawal of British armed forces from the streets of Northern Ireland, coupled with a statement of intent on the eventual evacuation of H.M. forces and an acknowledgement of the right of the Irish People to determine their own future without interference from the British Government."

(2) "The Abolition of the Stormont Parliament."

(3) "A Total amnesty for all political prisoners in Ireland and England, both tried and untried, and for all those on the wanted list."

**11th**—Security Forces in the North sabotage plans for a successful anti-internment demonstration near Magilligan internment camp in Co. Derry.

**12th**—On the second day of the Provisional I.R.A. cease fire in the North, a young woman is shot dead in a shooting incident in the Lower Falls area of Belfast.

At a meeting in Monaghan town, Mr. Frank McManus, M.P., is elected Chairman of Comhairle Uladh. Other officers elected to the committee for the establishment of a nine-county Ulster Parliament are : Mr. Henry Kane, vice-chairman; Mr. Peadar Mac Gaothain, secretary, and Mr. Daithi O'Conail and Mr Tom Lonergan, treasurers.

**13th**—Mr. Harold Wilson, former British Prime Minister, declares in Dublin that the first condition for peace in Northern Ireland is that internment should be ended speedily on a phased programme.

As the three-day Provisional I.R.A. truce ends, three men are shot dead in Belfast.

The trial of Mr. Cathal Goulding, Chief of Staff of the Official I.R.A., begins in Dublin on charges of incitement at St. Finbarr's Cemetery, Cork, following the funeral of an I.R.A. volunteer.

**14th**—A meeting of the back-bench Unionist 66 Committee say they will oppose Mr. Heath's initiatives, if they involve (1) moves towards a United Ireland; (2) Direct Rule; (3) Community Government.

A jury in the Central Criminal Court, Dublin, fail to reach a verdict on charges of incitement to violence brought against Mr. Cathal Goulding, Chief of Staff of the Official I.R.A.

**15th**—Two British Army bomb-disposal experts are killed in a bomb explosion in Belfast. The Minister for Local Government, Mr. Molloy says he will introduce legislation to postpone the Local Government Elections which are due to be held next month.

**16th**—The Stormont M.P. Mr. Paddy Kennedy is arrested in Belfast, following a raid on the flat of Mr. Vincent Browne, Northern Editor of the Irish Press. A man is shot dead in Belfast, and in Lurgan, Co. Armagh, a woman dies in a bomb explosion.

**17th**—The Stormont M.P. for Belfast Central, Mr. Paddy Kennedy is released on £6,000 bail following his appearance in court under the Special Powers Act on charges relating to the I.R.A.

**18th**—About 60,000 Protestants attend a rally organised by the Ulster Vanguard Movement in Belfast. Mr. William Craig speaking at the meeting says "we must build up a dossier of the men and women who are a menace to this country because if and when the politicians fail us, it may be our duty to liquidate the enemy".

**19th**—Trouble breaks out in Monaghan Town, following the arrest of three members of the Provisional I.R.A., Gardai and Troops baton charge a crowd of 2,000 people who besiege the local garda station. About 20,000 Catholics take part in an anti-internment march in Andersonstown, Belfast,

**20th**—An explosion in Donegall Street, Belfast, kills six people (2 R.U.C. officers and 4 civilians) and injures 146, many seriously. The Widgery Inquiry into the Derry killings ends after twenty days. Bombs composed of gunpowder and detonators are sent in the post to four Republican leaders in the South, none causing serious injury.

**21st**—On the eve of Mr. Brian Faulkner's departure for London to discuss British plans for Northern Ireland with the British Premier, Mr. Heath, the two biggest Loyalist Organisations split over what terms should be accepted.

**22nd**—The Stormont Premier, Mr. Faulkner, leaves London after nine hours of talks with Mr. Heath. No statement is made after the meeting. In Belfast a bomb explosion rocks the city centre, wrecking Great Victoria Street Railway Station and injuring about seventy people. It is announced in the Dail that a referendum on votes at 18 is to be held in the autumn.

**23rd**—Mr. Faulkner returns to London for further discussion with Mr. Heath on the future of Northern Ireland. A 150 lb gelignite bomb explodes in the centre of Carrickfergus injuring twenty people.

**24th**—The British Government announces direct rule of Northern Ireland from Westminster and appoints Mr. William Whitelaw as Secretary of State for the province. The Stormont Cabinet announce their intention to resign as a protest against the proposals, and Mr. William Craig, leader of the Ulster Vanguard Movement says they will fight the move. The British Army prepare to send 4,000 extra troops to the North in the event of trouble.

**25th**—The Social Democratic and Labour Party welcomes the Heath initiatives and offers "full co-operation for their implementation" but adds that internment remains as an obstacle to talks and awaits clarification on the question of its phasing out. The Provisional I.R.A. announces that their campaign is to continue despite reports that some northern units are willing to declare a truce for a period. Two men are shot dead in Belfast as violence continues in the North.

**26th** — Lord Windlesham and Mr. Paul Channon M.P. are appointed to serve under Mr. William Whitelaw as Ministers of State for Northern Ireland.

**27th**—Industry and business in the North comes to a standstill as thousands of Protestant workers rally behind the Ulster Vanguard Movement's call for a two-day strike in protest against direct rule.

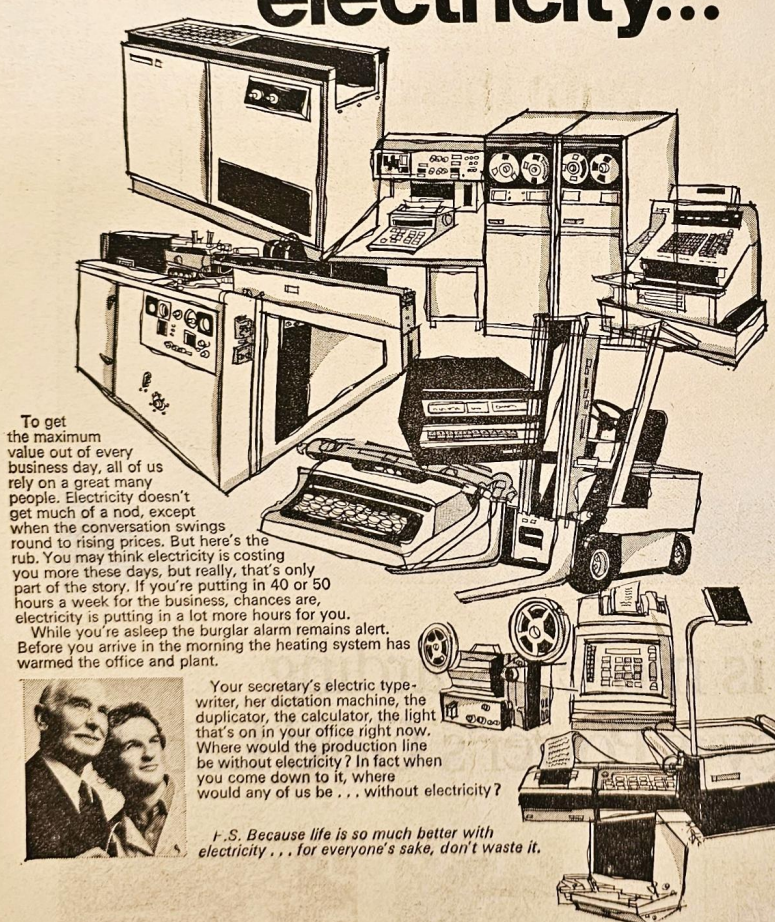
**28th**—Mr. Brian Faulkner and Mr. William Craig address an estimated 60,000 supporters of the Ulster Vanguard Movement outside Stormont, on the last day of the Northern Parliament. In Westminster the House of Commons passes by 482 votes to 18 the Northern Ireland (Temporary Provisions) Bill, introducing direct-rule to the North. A bomb explodes outside Limavady police station in Co. Derry killing two men.

**29th** — The Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland describes the direct-rule decision as a treacherous response to terrorist attacks and enemy lies. A British Army Major dies after a bomb explosion in Belfast. A new "softly softly" policy is issued to British Troops in the North regarding methods of search and arrest.

**30th**—An unsuccessful attempt is made on the life of Mr. Ivan Cooper, M.P., for Mid-Derry. The Northern Ireland (Temporary Provisions) Bill 1972 is placed on the Westminster Statute Book. A mother of ten is found shot dead after being caught in crossfire in the Andersonstown area of Belfast.

**31st** — The Ulster Vanguard Movement sets up committees to boycott goods and currency from the Republic, to deal with strikes and to handle the possible withdrawal of the services of local councillors. The Government announce that there is to be no Easter military parades due to the Northern situation.


electricity...



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# APRIL

**1st**—One of the best known members of the Provisional I.R.A., Anthony (Dutch) Doherty, "automatically expells" himself from the organisation for recognising a 'Free State Court."

The President of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions, Mr. James M. Cox, dies suddenly in Dublin.

**2nd**—Cardinal Conway claims that the Catholic people want the I.R.A. campaign to stop. Republican parades commemorating the 1916 Rising go off without incident throughout the North. In Derry the Chief of Staff of the Provisional I.R.A., Mr. Sean Mac Stiofain, urges the women of the area to continue the fight against the British. In Belfast a Catholic watchman is stabbed to death in the Protestant Ballysillan Park.

**3rd**—A meeting organised by the women of Andersonstown, Belfast, to try to bring peace to the area, breaks up in disarray after it is taken over by militant women who support the Provisional I.R.A.

**4th**—Women from Catholic areas in Belfast demonstrate their support for the hunger strikers on the prison ship Maidstone in Belfast Lough.

**5th**—Mr. William Whitelaw, the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, allocates different British Ministers to former Northern Ministries, thus creating a new Government for Northern Ireland.

**6th** — The Provisional I.R.A. announce that their campaign in the North is to continue until their three-point peace plan announced in March is accepted.

The Scarman Tribunal Report into the violence of August, 1969, is published.

**7th**—Forty-seven internees and twenty-six detainees are unconditionally released from internment camps in Northern Ireland.

Four men, three civilians and a British soldier are killed in Belfast in the worst day of violence for two weeks in the North.

The Unionist M.P. Mr. Robin Chichester-Clark is appointed Minister of State for Employment in the Westminster Government.

**8th** — In Dublin Aontacht Eireann hold their first Ard-Fheis. Mr. Kevin Boland is elected Chairman. Other officers elected are: **Vice-Chairmen,** Mr. Kevin Blaney, Mr. Maurice Condon, Capt. James Kelly and Mr. Desmond Murray; **Joint Hon. Secretaries,** Mr. Paurig Mooney and Mr. Patrick O'Callaghan; **Joint Hon. Treasurers,** Mr. Eamonn Kane and Noirin Ni Scollain.

**9th**—The prison ship Maidstone in Belfast Lough ends its days as a detention centre for internees, as the last of them are transferred to Long Kesh internment camp near Lisburn. Thirty Catholic priests in Belfast call for an end to the violence in the North, as a joint appeal at masses in the city.

**10th**—Two British soldiers are killed in a bomb explosion just outside "Free Derry."

Three bullets hit the Derry home of Mr. Eddie McAteer, President of the Nationalist Party. The Provisional I.R.A. in Derry announce that "strict sanctions on the access to the Bogside and Creggan areas by certain press men" were being imposed by them.

**12th**—Mr. James Tully, T.D., is appointed to the position of deputy leader of the Labour Party. Mr. Charles Barry Shaw, Q.C., is appointed as Northern Ireland's first Director of Prosecutions.

**13th**—In the worst day of bombings since direct rule was imposed, many people are injured, some seriously, in more than ten explosions throughout Northern Ireland.

**14th**—In a message to the R.U.C. the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, Mr. William Whitelaw, says there will be no easing up in the pursuit of the perpetrators of violence. The North experiences a second day of violence with more than thirty bomb explosions.

**15th**—Mr. Joe McCann, a leading member of the Official I.R.A., is shot dead in a Belfast street by British Paratroopers. Rioting breaks out in the area following the news of his shooting.

**16th**—As rioting continues in the Catholic areas of Belfast and Derry, three British soldiers are shot dead by the Official I.R.A. in retaliation for the killing of Joe McCann.

**17th**—Two men are killed and three injured during a gun battle between the British Army and the I.R.A. in Belfast.

The Taoiseach, Mr. Lynch, opens the Fainna Fail campaign for entry into the E.E.C. The Resources Study Group in Trinity College publish an investigation into Irish mining and call upon the Government to nationalise all Irish mines.

Mr. Cathal Goulding, Chief of Staff of the Official I.R.A. gives the oration at the fuenral of Mr. Joe McCann which is attended by 5,000 people, and units of the Provisional I.R.A.

**19th**—The Minister for Finance, Mr. George Colley, delivers his budget to the Dail. The Widgery Report into Derry's Bloody Sunday is published. Reaction from the people of the area claim it is a 'whitewash' report.

**20th**—Nine remand prisoners, all facing arms charges fail in their attempt to get free passage across the Border after holding three hostages for several hours in Armagh jail. An eighteen year-old youth is shot dead in Belfast.

The Fine Gael party leader, Mr. Liam Cosgrave, reshuffles the party's front bench in the Dail. The new appointments are: Mr. John Bruton (Agriculture); Mr. Peter Barry (Labour); Mr. Michael Begley (Gaeltacht and Fisheries); Mr. Edward Collins (Education); Mr. Patrick Cooney (Justice); Relegated to the back benches are: Mrs. B. Hogan O'Higgins; and Messrs. Paddy Belton, Dick Barry and Henry Kenny.

**21st**—In Belfast three British soldiers and a civilian are wounded in shooting incidents following a take over of the Catholic Divis Flats by the British Army.

**22nd**—A farmer is found shot dead at his home near Cullybackey, Co. Antrim. Scuffles break out between loyalist counter-demonstrators and the R.U.C. following an anti-internment rally near Long Kesh.

**23rd**—Two R.U.C. men, two British Soldiers and a civilian are wounded in shooting incidents in the North.

**24**—A £110m. plan for Derry is to go ahead irrespective of what part of the city and district is involved, according to Mr. William Whitelaw, Secretary of State for the North.

**25th**—Fourteen internees are released from Long Kesh, bringing the total of men released since Mr. Whitelaw was appointed to 133.

Mr. Stratton Mills, M.P. for Belfast North, resigns as Secretary of the Unionist group at Westminster.

**26**—Mr. Barry Shaw, the North's director of Public Prosecution is to examine the evidence surrounding the shooting of Mr. Joe McCann, a leading member of the Official I.R.A. shot dead two weeks ago.

Ten more internees are released from Long Kesh.

**27th**—The Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, Mr. William Whitelaw, lifts the ban on marches in the North and announces an amnesty for all those convicted of organising or taking part in illegal processions since December 25th, 1971.

**28th**—After a night of rioting in the Woodstock area of Belfast, women protest at the action of the R.U.C. against youths involved in the disturbances.

**29th**—An eighteen-year-old girl and a man are killed as violence continues in the North.

**30th**—Mr. Cathal Goulding, Chief of Staff of the Official I.R.A., slips through the security net to address a meeting in Creggan, Derry.

The internment camp at Magilligan, Co. Derry, closes down with all its internees being transferred to Long Kesh.

## PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

Eamon De Valera

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1945 | S. T. O Ceallaigh ..... | 565,165 (incl. transfers) |
| | General Sean MacEoin ..... | 453,425 (incl. transfers) |
| | P. McCartan ..... | 212,834 first preferences (eliminated) |
| 1952 | S. T. O Ceallaigh ..... | unopposed |
| 1959 | Eamon de Valera ..... | 538,000 |
| | General Sean MacEoin ..... | 417,536 |
| 1966 | Eamon de Valera ..... | 558,808 |
| | T. F. O'Higgins ..... | 548,240 |


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# MAY

**1st**—A man dies and 15 people are injured as eight bombs explode at the multi-million pound Courtaulds Chemical Fibres factory in Carrickfergus, Co. Antrim. Following four nights of rioting by Tartan gangs in East Belfast the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, Mr. William Whitelaw, appeals to the people of the area for restraint.

**2nd**—The Westminster group of Unionist M.P.'s elect Mr. James Kilfedder (North Down) as their Secretary in place of Mr. Stratton Mills, M.P., who resigned last week. Two British soldiers, two youths and a boy are shot in Belfast.

**3rd**—The former Northern Ireland Minister of Community Relations, Mr. Basil McIvor, M.P., becomes the first ex-Minister to break publicly with the official Unionist party line and give implied backing to the Whitelaw administration.

**4th**—The Taoiseach, Mr. Lynch, announces the terms of reference for the All-Party Northern Ireland Constitution Committee, and also the names of the Fianna Fail members. They are: Mr. Patrick S. Smith, former Minister for Agriculture; Mr. Michael O'Kennedy, Parliamentary Secretary; Major Vivion de Valera and Mr. Frank Carter. The other members of the committee are: Deputies Patrick Harte, Richie Ryan and Tom O'Higgins (Fine Gael), and Deputies James Tully and Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien (Labour).

**5th**—Cardinal Conway visits Long Kesh Internment Camp. A member of the Official I.R.A., Michael Joseph Willis, escapes from Crumlin Road Jail, Belfast.

**6th**—The British M.P., Mr. Enoch Powell, speaking at a meeting in Newtownards, Co. Down, calls for an end of "colonial" status and full integration of Northern Ireland with Great Britain.

Thirty-five Protestants serving sentences in Belfast jail, add their voice to the demand of Republican prisoners for "full status as political prisoners".

**7th**—Two youths are wounded in shooting incidents as sectarian clashes continue in Belfast.

**8th**—A Belfast solicitor, Mr. Bernard McCloskey, is appointed Deputy Director of Public Prosecutions by the Northern Ireland Secretary of State, Mr. William Whitelaw. About 100 Loyalists and Republican prisoners claiming status as political prisoners make their first militant protest by refusing to do normal daily duties in Crumlin jail, Belfast.

**9th**—Proponents and opponents of Irelands' entry into the E.E.C. bring their campaign to its climax on the eve of Referendum day. The Provisional I.R.A. admit responsibility for the bomb blast last week at the Courtaulds Chemical Fibres factory at Carrickfergus, Co. Antrim, which killed one man and injured 15 people.

**10th**—About 70% of the electorate turn out to vote in the E.E.C. referendum. In Belfast one of the biggest and costliest incendiary explosions destroys the co-operative stores in York Street, causing over £1 million in damages.

**11th**—Ireland votes itself into the European Community with an overwhelming "YES" in a record poll. The final figures, in a 71% poll are: 1,041,890 in favour of entry and 211,891 against, giving an almost 5 to 1 majority. (See details in panel). A British soldier is shot dead in the Falls area of Belfast and two explosions cause considerable damage to property.

**12th** — One man is shot dead and four others are injured in the Andersonstown area of Belfast. The British Government announces that there will be no disciplinary action against any of the soldiers involved in the shooting of 13 civilians in Derry on January 30th.

Loyalist demonstrators block the Crumlin Road, Belfast, following disturbances inside Belfast Jail.

Mr. Cathal Goulding, Chief-of-Staff of the Official I.R.A., is found not guilty of two charges of incitement. The offences were alleged to have occurred during a speech made by Mr. Goulding at a funeral in Cork in July, 1971.

**13th**—Four men, including a British soldier die and 61 people are injured during sectarian violence following an explosion at Kelly's Tavern on the Springfield Road, Belfast. A 19-year-old member of the Provisional I.R.A. is shot dead by the British Army in Derry.

The Fianna Fail T.D. for Mid-Cork, Mr. Patrick Forde, dies at the age of 49. Mr. Forde's death leaves Fianna Fail with 69 Dail deputies including the Ceann Comhairle, Mr. Cormac Breslin. Fine Gael has a Dail strength of 51 and Labour 17. There are 6 independents.

**14th**—As sectarian violence continues in the North a man and a girl of 13 are shot dead in Belfast bringing the total number of dead in the North since the "Troubles" started to 325.

**15th**—Following an explosion in a pub in Sandy Row which injured 17 people, more than a 100 members of the Protestant Tartan gang go on a rampage in Belfast.

**16th**—Mr. William Craig, announces that the Ulster Vanguard Movement, will work for an independent British Ulster if Northern Ireland does not get back its parliament. He also says that if Vanguard fails to get the support of the Unionist Party for this objective, the movement itself would become a political party.

The Rev. Ian Paisley calls for a military defeat, disarmament and destruction of the I.R.A. and warns that if this is not done immediately Northern Ireland will drift into "the most bloody of civil wars"

Twelve more internees are released from Long Kesh bringing the total number set free to date to 273.

Dr. John O'Connell, T.D., Labour, calls for a coalition arrangement between the Labour Party and Fine Gael.

**17th**—Sixteen more internees are released from Long Kesh.

Four workers leaving the almost entirely Protestant Mackies Engineering Works on the Springfield Road are wounded by gunfire from the Catholic Clonard Street area. As violence continues in the North, a civilian and a British soldier are shot dead.

**18th**—Provisional I.R.A. prisoners in Mountjoy Jail take over the inner section of the prison and release scores of fellow-prisoners during a major prison riot. Troops armed with riot equipment and CS gas are moved into the prison to quell the riot. A teenager is shot dead and two others injured in shooting incidents in Belfast. A British soldier dies from wounds sustained earlier in the week. Sixteen more internees are released from Long Kesh, bringing the total released to 305.

**19th**—Nearly 200 prisoners are removed from Dublin's riot-damaged Mountjoy Prison and are taken under conditions of strict security to other places of detention around the country, including the military detention barracks in the Curragh Camp. A 15-year-old boy is shot dead by the British Army in Derry.

**20th**—4,000 delegates attend the Fine Gael Ard-Fheis in Cork. Among the attendance at the conference are Mr. Robert Cooper and Mr. Oliver Napier, joint political chairmen of the Alliance Party in Northern Ireland.

Protestant no-go areas are set up in the Mount Pottinger and Woodstock Road areas of East Belfast by members of the Ulster Defence Association.

A member of the U.D.R. is killed in an ambush near Dungannon, and a British soldier home on leave in Derry is shot dead as violence continues in the North.

**21st**—The Oficial I.R.A., claim responsibility for the killing of a British soldier, Ranger William Best, home on leave in Derry.

Two men die in shooting incidents in Belfast. The Ulster Defence Association agrees to take down the barricades in Protestant areas of the city.

At the Fine Gael Ard-Fheis in Cork the following Party officers are elected: **President,** Liam Cosgrave, T.D.; **Vice-Presidents,** T. F. O'Higgins, T.D.; Garret FitzGerald, T.D.; **Joint Hon. Secs.,** Gerry L'Estrange, T.D. and and Mr. P. Lindsay, S.C.

**22nd** — The Taoiseach, Mr. Lynch says in Dublin that he intends strengthening the laws against illegal organisations.

One man is killed and two others are wounded when their car is ambushed at Drumeney, Co. Tyrone.

A group of about 250 women invade the headquarters of the Official I.R.A. in Derry as a protest against the killing of Ranger William Best.

**23rd** — The Dail passes the Second Stage of an "emergency" Prisons' Bill, 1972. It authorises the Minister for Justice to transfer the Republican prisoners in custody to military custody, in exceptional circumstances which make such a transfer necessary.

A British soldier is shot dead in Belfast and a civilian is found dead in the Finaghy area of the city. In Derry a 'peace meeting' breaks up following disorder and heckling by supporters of the Official I.R.A.

**24th**—The Minister for Justice, Mr. O'Malley, announces in the Dail that the Government is preparing the mechanics for the re-activation of Section 5 of the Offences Against the State Act of 1939-40.

Five women from 'Free-Derry' meet the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, Mr. Whitelaw in a bid to bring peace to the area.

The first meeting of the "All-Party Committee on the Implications of Irish Unity" is held in Leinster House, and Mr. Michael O'Kennedy, T.D., parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Education is elected Chairman.

**25th**—Mr. William Whitelaw announces the names of the eleven people who will comprise the Advisory Commission on Northern Ireland. They are: Mr. Tom Conaty, Mr. A. E. Gibson, Professor Norman Gibson, Mr. Norman Kennedy, Sir Robin Kinahan, Mrs. Ada Malone, Miss Sheelagh Murnaghan, Mr. John Nicholl, Mr. James O'Hara, Mr. R. B. Price, Mr. R. D. Rolson.

More than 500 people in the Brandywell area of Derry's Bogside meet to show their support for both wings of the I.R.A.

President de Valera sign. the Prisons Bill (1972).

A further 17 men are released from Long Kesh, bringing the total released to 377.

**26th**—The establishment of a Special Criminal Court is authorised when a Government proclamation is made bringing Part V of the Offences Against the State Act into operation. The Taoiseach, Mr. Lynch says that the Government is satisfied that the establishment of a special court is needed, because the "ordinary courts are inadequate at the present time to secure the effective administration of justice and the preservation of public peace and order". A woman dies and 41 people are injured, some seriously, when a 150lb. bomb explodes in Belfast.

A group from Northern Ireland, calling itself the 'North Demands Peace Movement' begins a 24-hour picket on the offices of the Provisional and Official Sinn Feins in Dublin.

**27th**—Thousands of uniformed Protestant militants march through Belfast city centre in one of the biggest shows of force by such groups to date.

**28th**—Four Provisional I.R.A., Officers and two civilians die in an explosion in Andersons Street, Belfast. A man is fatally wounded and five people injured in sectarian shooting incidents in Belfast.

**29th** — The Official I.R.A. suspends operations in Northern Ireland, reserving only the right to self defence and the defence of areas if attacked by the British military or by sectarian forces.

**30th**—The Minister for Justice, Mr. O'Malley announces the names of the three judges for the Special Criminal Court. They are: Mr. Justice Griffin, Judge John C. Conroy, and District Justice O'Floinn.

Two British Soldiers die in Belfast, one following an explosion at the Springfield Road R.U.C. station.

**31st** — Gardai and Special Branch detectives arrest the president of Sinn Fein (Kevin Street), Mr. Ruairi O'Bradaigh and the veteran Belfast Republican, Mr. Joe Cahill in raids in Roscommon and Dublin, and detain both men under Section 30 of the Offences Against the State Act.


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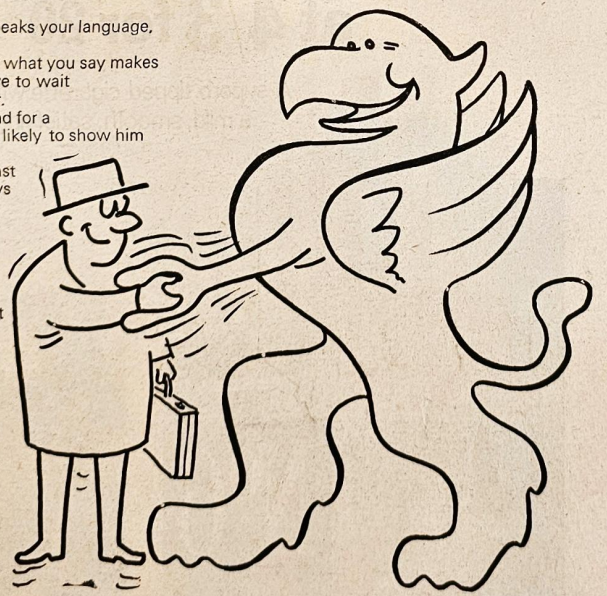

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# JUNE

**1st**—As preparations go ahead for the first sitting of the Special Courts on June 12th, gardai and special branch continue the search for leading Provisionals, including Mr. Sean Mac Stiofain and Mr. Daithi O'Connell. The President of Sinn Fein (Kevin Street), Mr. Ruairi O'Bradaigh, and Mr. Joe Cahill are remanded in custody for a week, charged under the Offences Against the State Act. The Sinn Fein (Kevin Street) publicity director, Mr. Sean O'Bradaigh, is also taken into custody.

**2nd**—The Provisional I.R.A. command formally announces its decision to fight on in Northern Ireland where it says, the organisation is in a position to continue the struggle indefinitely. Two British soldiers are killed when a mine explodes near the border in Co. Fermanagh.

**3rd**—Demonstrators from the North confront Irish troops with fixed bayonets outside the Curragh Camp in Co. Kildare during a protest against the Prisons Bill and the Offences Against the State Act, organised by the People's Democracy and the Northern Resistance Movement. Loyalist demonstrators clash with British Troops and R.U.C. men during a protest march on the Craigavon bridge, Derry. The Ulster Defence Association set up 24-hour no-go areas throughout the North.

**4th**—A man is shot dead in Belfast in a day of bombing and shooting incidents in Belfast and Derry.

**5th**—Rioting breaks out in the New Lodge area of Belfast after paratroopers arrest a number of men including three members of the Provisional I.R.A. The Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, Mr. William Whitelaw, apparently rules out any question of negotiations with the Provisional I.R.A. "There can be no question of negotiations with people who are shooting at British troops," he says during a visit to Derry.

**6th**—The Northern Ireland Secretary of State, Mr. William Whitelaw, releases 75 more internees, the greatest number to be released at any one time, and brings the total set free since direct rule to 470. A British soldier is shot dead in the Ballymurphy area of Belfast.

**7th**—A 30-year-old Belfast Prisoner, Robert Campbell, escapes from the Mater Hospital, Belfast, where he had been in an intensive care unit undergoing treatment for the effects of a 23-day hunger strike. A report published by the International League for the Rights of Man, challenges the findings of the Widgery Tribunal on the "Bloody Sunday" deaths in Derry. Another 50 internees are released from Long Kesh Internment Camp. A British soldier is shot dead by a sniper in Belfast, the 75th to die in Northern Ireland since February, 1971.

**8th**—A bomb explodes in Legakelly on the Cavan-Fermanagh border, killing a Garda inspector and injuring an Irish Army officer. A Catholic workman is shot dead on a building site between a Catholic and Protestant area in Belfast. Eighteen detainees are released from Long Kesh Internment Camp. The Minister of Commerce in the former Northern Ireland Government, Mr. Robin Baillie, resigns from Mr. Faulkner's "shadow cabinet" and from his parliamentary seat at Stormont.

Rory O'Brady

**9th**—A U.D.R. Corporal is shot dead and two women are injured after an incident at a Belfast factory.

**10th**—More than 3,000 loyalists march through Banbridge, Co. Down, to a rally addressed by the Vanguard leader, Mr. William Craig, the Westminster M.P., Mr. Enoch Powell, and the former Northern Prime Minister, Mr. Brian Faulkner.

**11th**—Three civilians are killed and two soldiers injured, one seriously, during an hour-long gun battle between British troops, Protestants and Catholics in Belfast. A British soldier is shot dead in Derry. About 5,000 people attend the Provisional I.R.A. Wolfe Tone commemoration at Bodenstown.

**12th**—The Northern Ireland Secretary of State, Mr. William Whitelaw, announces that another battalion of British troops is being sent to Northern Ireland. The Guildhall in Derry, which houses the headquarters of the Derry Development Commission, is wrecked by two 100lb. bombs planted by armed raiders.

**13th**—The British Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, Mr. William Whitelaw, rejects an invitation from the Provisional I.R.A. to discuss their three-point peace plan for a settlement of the Northern situation. Moves are made to open negotiations between the Labour Party and Fine Gael to agree on terms which could be put to the electorate to win support for a Coalition Government after the next general election. Ruairi O'Bradaigh, president of Sinn Fein (Kevin Street) is discharged at the district court in Elphin, Co. Roscommon, after the judge refuses information on four charges brought against him under the Offences Against the State Act (1939). The first sentences are passed before the newly-established Special Criminal Courts in Dublin.

**14th**—The Northern Ireland Secretary of State, Mr. William Whitelaw, has talks with the leader of the Unionist Party, Mr. Brian Faulkner, on the future of Northern Ireland. The chairman of the U.C.C., branch of Fine Gael, Mr. John Twomey, resigns from the party because of disagreement with "reactionary trends" within the party and the leadership's attitude towards coalition.

**15th**—The Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, Mr. William Whitelaw, announces that he proposes to start discussions with a view to convening a conference of the people of Northern Ireland to see what common ground can be found on the future of democratic institutions in the North. He also announces that this year's local elections in the the North are to be held under proportional representation.

**16th**—Eight men are arrested during struggles between gardai and Corporation tenants at Cromcastle, Coolock, Co. Dublin, when the deputy sheriff evicts a family from their apartment. Among those arrested is Mr. Matt Larkin, organisations secretary of N.A.T.O. The hooded body of a man who had been shot dead through the head is found in Belfast. The Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, Mr. William Whitelaw, calls on the people of Northern Ireland to help him create a real and lasting peace and to draw back from the danget of sectarian conflict.

**17th**—A resolution calling on the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland to put an end to "no-go" areas and to defeat the I.R.A. by the use of the strongest possible military measures, is handed into Government House, Hillsborough, Co. Down, by the Rev. Ian Paisley.

**18th**—Three British soldiers are killed and five others injured in a booby-trap explosion near Lurgan, Co. Armagh. Thousands of people attend the Official Republican Movement Wolfe Tone commemoration at Bodenstown, and hear Mr. Sean Garland, a member of the Ard Comhairle of Sinn Fein, outline a Socialist strategy for the movement.

**19th**—A British soldier dies and four others are injured by gunfire in the Ardoyne area of Belfast.

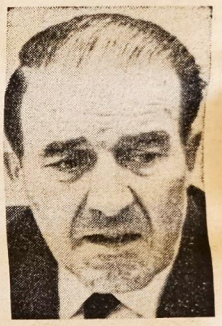
**20th**—Republican prisoners on hunger strike in Belfast prison as part of their campaign to gain political prisoner status end their strike after 30 days, when the Northern Ireland Secretary of State, Mr. Whitelaw, announces concessions for about 120 inmates of the jail. The Belfast Republican leader, Joe Cahill, is cleared of a charge of inciting people to become members of illegal organisations by the Special Criminal Court in Dublin.

**21st**—A British soldier is shot dead in Derry and a number of others are wounded in Belfast. A move to give votes at 18 in local elections is defeated in the Dail, when a Labour amendment to the Local Elections Bill, 1972, is lost by 53 votes to 38. Senator Eileen Desmond is selected as the Labour Party candidate in the forthcoming Mid-Cork by-election.

**22nd**—The Provisional I.R.A. announces that it will suspend offensive operations as and from midnight, Monday, June 26th, 1972, provided that a public reciprocal response is forthcoming from the British Army.

**23rd**—The Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association says that it expects to be represented along with other political groups adhering to non-violent opposition, at any conference following the end of internment and the abrogation of the Special Powers Act. A 17-year-old boy is shot dead in Belfast.

**24th**—Three British soldiers are killed in an explosion near Dungiven, Co. Derry. In Belfast two civilians are shot dead in gunbattles. A special delegate conference of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions rejects the draft proposals for a new national wage agreement by 253 votes to 103.



Neil Blaney, T.D.

**25th**—A major gunbattle takes place between the British Army and the Provisional I.R.A. in the Lenadoon area of Belfast on the eve of the cease-fire.

**26th**—The Provisional I.R.A. cease-fire comes into operation at midnight in Belfast and in the rest of Northern Ireland, after a day in which two British soldiers and an R.U.C. man are shot dead, and at least ten people are injured in shooting and bombing incidents throughout the North. Mr. Neil Blaney, T.D., is expelled from the Fianna Fail Party by an "overwhelming majority" of the 72-member National Executive for "conduct unbecoming a member of the organisation."

**27th**—On the first day of the Provisional I.R.A. cease-fire, the North remains quiet, with only minor incidents.

**28th**—Republican prisoners who are in military custody in the Curragh go on hunger strike in protest against the treatment they are receiving. The Ulster Defence Association announces that it is to go ahead with its threat to create permanent "no-go" areas in loyalists districts in the North.

**29th**—The Provisional I.R.A. in Derry announce that they are to remove three barricades in the "no-go" area of the city.

**30th**—Thousands of masked and uniformed volunteers in the Ulster Defence Association carry out their promised protest action over the existence of the Free Derry "no-go" areas and barricade off loyalist areas of Belfast.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# WHO'S WHO IN THE NORTH

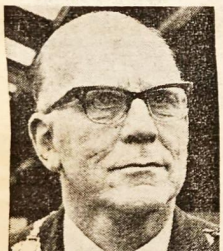
**A Check-List of the Leading Figures in Northern Ireland Public Life.**

## A

**ADAMS, Gerard. Born:** Belfast 1948. Educated St. Thomas's Secondary School, and St. Mary's Christian Bros., Belfast. **Career:** Education Officer for Belfast area Provisional Republican Movement (1970-71). Chairman of the Liam McPartland Cumann Sinn Fein (Kevin St.) in Ballymurphy. Has been reported as being Officer Commanding Belfast Brigade of the Provisional I.R.A. (1972). **Address:** Ballymurphy, Belfast. Former occupation: Barman.

**AGNEW, Kevin M.,** Member of Dail Uladh. **Born:** Maghera, Co. Down, March, 1911. **Educ.:** St. Columb's College, Derry. **Career:** Founding Member of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association; Member of the Executive of C.R.A. 1967-71; Chairman of the C.R.A. 1970-'71; former Member of Ard Comhairle of Sinn Fein; Co. Derry representative on Dail Uladh. **Occupation,** Solicitor. **Address:** Main Street, Maghera, Co. Derry. **Tel.:** 204.

**AGNEW, William Alexander Fraser,** A.M.I.E.T., leading figure Ulster Vanguard Movement. **Born:** 16th August, 1942. **Educ.:** Whitehouse Junior Primary School; Ballyclare High School; British Institute of Engineering Technology. **Career:** 1967-72 Chairman Duncairn Young Unionists; 1966-68 Treasurer Belfast Area Young Unionists; 1968 elected Chairman Belfast area Young Unionists; 1972 Elected Vice-Chairman Ulster Young Unionist Council; 1971 accepted by Oldpark Unionist Association as Parliamentary Unionist candidate; 1972 member of Vanguard Executive; Member of the Orange Order; Member of Ulster Loyalist Association. **Married. Address:** Belfast. **Tel.:** Glengormley 4021 Ext. 266.



**Commander Albert Anderson, M.P.**

**ANDERSON, Commander Albert Wesley,** V.R.D., J.P., M.P. for City of Derry. **Career:** Unionist; Senior Parliamentary Secretary to Minister of Home Affairs 1971. **Address:** Balmacra, 6 Deanfield, Derry. **Tel.:** Derry 3348.

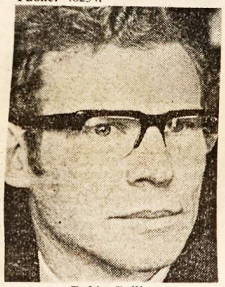
**ANDERSON, Leonard James (Jim),** Chairman of the Ulster Defence Association. **Born:** Belfast. **Career:** Succeeded Charles Harding Smith as Chairman of the U.D.A.; Founding member of the Woodvale Defence Association. **Married: Address:** 5 Rosewood Street, Belfast BT14, 7AF. **Tel.:** Belfast 748067.

**ARDILL, Captain (Robert) Austin. Born:** Belfast, 1917. **Educated:** Coleraine Academical Institution. **Married** with one son and one daughter. **Career:** Unionist M.P. for Carrick at Stormont (1965-69). Was not re-adopted by constituency. President of Greenisland Unionist Association since 1964. Member of Duncairn Unionist Association 1945-50). Founder member of the Ulster Vanguard Movement and Deputy Leader since its foundation in 1971. **Interests:** sport and pony breeding. **Address:** Ravenhill, Shore Road, Greenisland, Co. Antrim. **Phone:** Whiteabbey 2169. Captain in the Royal Irish Fusiliers (1939-46). Awarded the M.C.

## B

**BABINGTON, Robert John. Born:** Dublin, 9 April, 1920. **Educated:** Sandford Park, Ranelagh, St. Columba's, Rathfarnham and Trinity College, Dublin. **Married** with 3 sons and 1 girl. **Career:** Elected Unionist M.P. for North Down seat at Stormont (1969). Chairman of the Unionist Back-benchers' Committee at Stormont. Served in Fleet Air Arm reaching rank of lieutenant (1939-45). Awarded the D.F.C. **Occupation:** barrister—Queen's Counsel. **Interests:** golf. **Address:** Greenways, Cultra, Holywood, Co. Down. **Phone:** 4159.

**BAILIE, James Orr. Born** Newtownards, Co. Down 1916. **Educated:** Regent House School, Newtownards. **Married** with 3 daughters. **Career:** Secretary of the Ulster Unionist Council since 1940. (Administrative head of the the Unionist Party). Superintendent of the Government Whips' Office Stormont since 1940. Secretary to Her Majesty's Lt. for the County Borough of Belfast. Awarded O.B.E. in 1971. **Address:** (Home) 6 Rosepark, Dundonald. **Phone:** 2597. **Business:** 3 Glengall St., **Belfast. Phone:** 46254.



**Robin Bailie**

**BAILIE, Robin John,** LL.B., former Unionist M.P. for Newtownabbey. **Career:** elected Unionist M.P. for Newtownabbey. Former Minister of Commerce; resigned seat and membership of the Unionist Party August 1972. **Address:** 39A Malone Park, Belfast BT9 6NL. **Tel.:** Belfast 668085 (home) and 43878 (business).

**BEATTIE, Rev. William Martin,** M.P. for South Antrim. **Born:** Broughshane, Co. Antrim, 1942. **Educ.:** Ballymena, Academy and Free Presbyterian Theological Hall, Belfast. **Career:** 1970, Elected M.P. for South Antrim; Former deputy leader of Protestant Unionist Parliamentary Party; now Member of the Democratic Unionist Party; Executive Member of Ulster Constitution Defence Committee since its foundation in 1966; Minister of Dunmurray Free Presbyterian Church. **Married. Address:** 69 Killeaton Crescent, Derriaghy, Dunmurray, Belfast. **Tel.:** Dunmurray 3117.

**BENNER, Francis Edward.** Member Arts Council of Northern Ireland. **Born:** 1902. **Educ.:** Newbridge College, Co. Kildare. **Career:** Established firm 1927, Frank E. Benner Ltd.; Deputy Lieutenant City of Belfast 1968; Member Arts Council of Northern Ireland; Director Belfast Arts Theatre. **Married:** 1 son. **Address:** 21 Malone Park, Belfast BT9 6NJ.

**BLEAKLEY, David.** Leading member of the Northern Ireland Labour Party. **Born:** 1925, Belfast. **Educ.:** Won T.U.C. Scholarship to Ruskin College, Oxford; First Class Degree; History and Political Science; Queen's University, Belfast. **Career:** M.P. for Victoria 1958, defeated 1965 by Roy Bradford; appointed Minister of Community Relations by Prime Minister, Brian Faulkner, in April '71. Resigned Ministerial post September '71. **Publications:** Peace in Ulster.

**BLEASE, John William.** Northern Ireland Officer, of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions. **Born:** 28th May, 1914, Belfast. **Educ.:** Ormeau Primary School; Belfast Technical College. **Career:** Former Deputy Chairman of the Northern Ireland Labour Party; Member of the Northern Ireland Economic Council; Member of Committee of inquiry into Industrial Relations; Member of Committee inquiry into Company Law reforms; awarded Hon. LL.D., Degree at Queen's University 1971. **Married:** 4 children. **Address:** 27 Ferguson Drive, Belfast 4. **Tel.:** 654327.

**BOAL, Desmond N. O. Born:** Derry. **Educated:** Foyle College and Q.U.B. **Married** with one child. **Career:** Elected Unionist M.P. for Shankill seat at Stormont (1960). Close associate of Ian Paisley's from that time. Became Chairman of the Ulster Democratic Unionist Party when it was formed in 1971. Resigned his seat in protest at direct rule (1972). **Occupation:** Barrister. **Address:** Columville, St. John's Point, Killough, Co. Down. **Phone:** Ardglass 247.

**BOND, Brigid (Mrs.). Born:** Derry, 1925. **Educated:** St. Joseph's Convent School, Derry. **Married** with four sons. **Career:** Treasurer of the Derry Housing Action Committee (1968); one of the organisers of the Derry Civil Rights March on Oct. 5, 1968; Hon. Sec. of the Derry C.R.A.; (1969) member of the Executive Comm. of the N.I.C.R.A. (1969-'71). **Address:** 11 Tremone Gardens, Creggan, Derry. **Phone:** 65673.

**BOYD, Andrew John.** B.Sc. (Economics) Journalist. **Born:** Belfast, 28th March, 1921. **Educ.:** Queen's University, Belfast. **Career:** Lecturer, author, journalist; Organiser in Ireland for the National Council of Labour Colleges 1954-64; regular contributor on political, social and economic affairs to the leading newspapers and journals in Ireland, Britain and U.S.A.; broadcaster on radio and television, script writer for B.B.C., R.T.E. and Italian Television. **Publications to date:** The Two Irelands (Fabian Society 1967); Holy War in Belfast (Anvil Books 1969); Rise of the Irish Trade Unions (Anvil Books 1971); Brian Faulkner and the Crisis of Ulster Unionism (Anvil Books 1972). **Married:** 4 daughters. **Address:** 22 Ashley Gardens, Belfast BT15 4 DN. **Tel.:** Belfast 79438.

**BOYLE, Kevin,** LL.B., Diploma in Criminology. Member of the Executive of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association. **Born:** 1943. **Educ.:** Newry Christian Brothers; Queen's University; Cambridge University. **Career:** Founder member of the Peoples' Democracy; Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association legal representative in Strasbourg. **Address:** 2 Mount Charles, Belfast 7.

**Roy Bradford, M.P.**

**BRADFORD. Rt. Hon. Roy Hamilton,** P.C, (N.I.). **Born:** Rockcorry, Co. Monaghan, 7th July, 1920; **Educ.:** Royal Belfast Academical Institution and Trinity College, Dublin. **Career:** Military Intelligence 1943-47, Freelance writer and TV producer 1950-62; Elected Unionist M.P. for Victoria Division of Belfast at Stormont 1962; Ass. Government Whip 1966; Parliamentary Secretary of the Minister of Education 1967; Unionist Chief Whip 1968-69; Minister of Commerce 1969-71; Minister of Development 1971; Publications "Excelsior" (novel); Director of Geoffrey Sharp Ltd. **Married:** 2 sons. **Address:** Ardkeen, Carnalea, Bangor, Co. Down. **Tel :** Bangor 5012.

**BROOKE, John Warren,** M.P. for Lisnaskea. **Born:** 9th November, 1922. **Educ.:** Eton and Portora Royal School, **Career:** Joined 10th Hussars, served North Africa and Italy; Member of Fermanagh County Council for 22 years; 1968 succeeded his father Lord Brookeborough as M.P. for Lisnaskea; 1969, Parliamentary Secretary to Ministry of Commerce; 1970, appointed political head of the Stormont information service; 1971 Stormont Minister of State at the Ministery of Finance; Chief Whip of the Unionist Party. **Address:** Ashbrooke, Brookeborough, Enniskillen, Co. Fermanagh. **Tel:** Brookeborough 242.

**Lord Brookeborough**

**BROOKEBOROUGH, Rt. Hon. Basil Brooke,** Prime Minister of Northern Ireland 1943-63. **Born:** 9th June, 1888. **Educ.:** Winchester and Sandhurst. **Career:** Member of Stormont 1929-68, Minister of Agriculture 1933-41; Minister of Commerce 1941-43; Prime Minister 1943-63; **Address:** Colebrooke, Brookeborough, Co. Fermanagh.

**BURNS, Joseph,** F.S.V.A., J.P., M.P. for North Londonderry. **Born:** 19th July, 1906. **Educ.:** National School, Rainey End Grammar School; New York University. **Career:** Elected M.P. for North Derry 1960; Chief Whip in the O'Neill Administration; Leader of the Backbench; Parliamentary Sec. Health and Social Services in Faulkner Administration; Member of the Orange and Black Order. **Married:** 4 children. **Address:** Maghera, Co. Derry. **Tel.:** Maghera 271.

## C

**CALDWELL, Thomas H.,** M.B.E., Independent Unionist M.P. for Willowfield, Belfast. **Address:** Springfield, Brooknount, Lisburn, Co. Antrim. **Tel.:** Maze, 352, Belfast 23226 and 23311 (Business).

**CAMERON, William Millar,** M.B.E., Senator. **Born:** 1905. **Educ.:** Ballymena Academy. **Career:** Senator Northern Ireland Government; Freeman of Ballymena, 1966; Chairman Antrim County Council since 1964; President of Co. Antrim Agricultural Association; Awarded M.B.E., for War Services; Chairman: W. Cameron and Co. Ltd., Camerons Travel, Ballymena; Director, Commercial Union Assurance Co., Progressive Building Society. **Clubs:** Reform Club (Northern Ireland), Services Club. **Married:** 3 daughters. **Address:** Highacre, Ballymena, Co. Antrim. **Tel.:** 2328.

**CARDWELL, Joshua,** Unionist M.P. for Pottinger, Belfast. **Address:** 81 Holland Drive, Belfast, BT5 6EJ. **Tel.:** Belfast 655765.

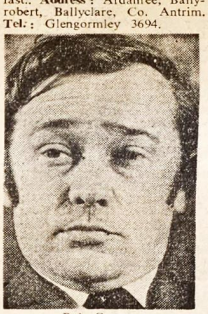
**CARRON, John,** Nationalist M.P., for South Fermanagh. **Born:** 28th January, 1908. **Career:** Elected M.P. for South Fermanagh, 1966. Member of Lisnaskea R.W.C.; Member of Fermanagh County Council, 1946-'54 **Married ;** 1929. **Address :** The Stag's Head, Lisnaskea, Co. Fermanagh. **Tel.:** Lisnaskea 213.

**CHICHESTER-CLARK, Robert (Robin),** B.A., Unionist M.P. **Born:** Castledawson, 10th January, 1928. **Educ.:** Royal Naval College; Magdalene College, Cambridge, B.A. Hons., History and Law. **Career :** Journalist 1950; Public Relations Officer, 1952; Assistant to Sales Manager, Oxford University Press, 1953-55; Financial Secretary to the Treasury, 1958; Assistant Government Whip (unpaid) 1958-60; Lord Comt. of the Treasury 1960-61; Chief Opposition spokesman on Northern Ireland in Westminister 1964-70; Minister of State for Employment, April, 1972; Hon Fellow Institution of Works Managers; Director of the Institution of Works Managers, 1968-72. **Clubs:** Carlton Club. **Married :** 1953, Jane Helen Goddard, 3 children. **Address :** Ross House, Kells, Co. Antrim.

**CONATY, Thomas E.** Member of the Northern Ireland Advisory Commission. **Born :** Holywood, Co. Down. **Educ. :** Christian Brothers, Belfast. **Career :** Chairman of the Belfast Central Citizens Defence Committee, 1970; Appointed member of the N.I. Advisory Commission, 1972. **Address :** 87 Andersonstown Road, Belfast.

**COOPER, Ivan Averill,** M.P. for Mid-Derry. **Born :** 5th January, 1944, Killaloo, Co. Derry. **Educ. :** Killaloo-Cumber P.S., Foley College, Derry; Derry Municipal Tech., College; Magee University, Derry. **Career :** Young Unionists Association Expelled 1962; General Manager, Westport Textiles, 1965-68; Organiser Civil Rights, March 5th, October, 1968; Chairman Derry Citizens Action Committee, 1968-69; Elected M.P. for Mid-Derry, 1969; Joined the S.D.L.P. with five other M.P.s in 1971. **Address :** Main Street, Dungiven, Co Derry. **Tel. :** 436.

**COOPER, Robert George (Bob)** General Secretary Alliance Party of Northern Ireland. **Born :** 24th June, 1936. **Educ. :** Foyle College Derry; Queen's University, Belfast., **Address :** Ardanree, Ballyrobert, Ballyclare, Co. Antrim. **Tel. :** Glengormley 3694.



**Bob Cooper**

**CORRIGAN, Aidan Dominic,** founder member and PRO of the Northern Resistance Movement. **Born :** 2nd Dec., 1932. **Educ. :** St. Patrick's College, Cavan; Maynooth College (B.A. Degree). **Career :** Chairman of Dungannon Civil Rights Association, 1968-71; Member of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association, 1971-72; Teacher, St. Patrick's Academy, Dungannon. **Publications :** "Eyewitness in Northern Ireland"; Regular contributor to papers and periodicals both in Ireland and America. **Married :** 2 sons, **Address :** 4 Orpheus Drive, Dungannon, Tyrone.

**CRAIG, Rt. Hon. William,** M.P., Leader of the Ulster Vanguard Movement. **Born :** 2nd December, 1924. **Educ. :** Queen's University, Belfast. **Career :** Elected Stormont M.P. for Larne, 1960. Chief Whip of the Unionist Party, 1962-63; Minister of Home Affairs, 1963-64; Minister of Health, 1966-68; Minister of Local Government, 1964; Minister of Development, 65-66. **Address :** Hilgencraigs, 23 Annadale Avenue, Belfast. BT7 3JJ. **Tel. :** Belfast 644096.

**CURRAN, Philip Frederick,** General Organiser of the Catholic Ex-Servicemen's **Born :** 26th August, 1927, Whitehead, Co. Antrim. **Educ. :** Queen's Matric.; Inter. A.C.C.A. **Career :** Member of the British Army for 6 years; Short Brothers and Harland-Missiles System Division, 11 years. Appointed General Organiser for the Catholic Ex-Servicemen's Association, August, '71. **Married :** 6 boys, 2 girls. **Address:** 248 Cliftonville Road, Belfast 14. **Tel. :** 746949.

**CURRIE, Joseph Austin,** B.A. (Hons.) M.P. for East Tyrone. **Born :** 11th October, 1939. **Educ.:** Edendork P.E.S.; St. Patrick's Academy, Dungannon, Queen's University, Belfast. **Career :** M.P. for East Tyrone since June, 1964. Youngest M.P. ever elected to Stormont Parliament. Member of the Social Democratic and Labour Party. **Married :** 1968, 2 daughters, 1 son. **Address :** Tullydraw, Donaghmore, Dungannon, Co. Tyrone. (Temporary number, Dungannon : Tel. 3341).

## D

**DEVLIN, Bernadette Josephine,** Westminster, Independent Unity M.P. for Mid-Ulster. **Born :** Cookstown, 23 April, 1947; **Educ.:** St. Patrick's Girls' Academy, Dungannon and Queen's University. **Career :** Founding member of the Peoples' Democracy. Elected M.P., April, 1969. **Publications :** "The Price of My Soul" (autobiography); 1 daughter. **Address :** House of Commons, London.

**Bernadette Devlin, M.P.**

**DEVLIN, Patrick Joseph.** Chief Whip of the Social Democratic and Labour Party. **Born :** 8th March, 1925. **Career :** Elected Stormont Parliament January, 1969. **Married :** 5 children. **Address :** 39 Greeman, Shaws Road, Belfast 11. **Tel. :** Belfast 616558.

**DICKSON, Anne Letitia,** M.P. for Carrick. **Born:** 18th April, 1928. **Educ.:** Richmond Lodge School, Belfast. Belfast College of Technology. **Career :** Vice-Chairman, Carrick Division Unionist Assoc. 1965-67; Chairman 1967-69; Member of Newtownabbey Urban Council since 1965 to date; Vice-Chairman 1967-69; Elected Stormont 1969; Member: Co. Antrim Library Committee; Rosstiella School for E.S.N. Children, Management Committee; President Newtownabbey Operatic Society; Member of Royal Overseas League. **Married:** 4 children. **Address:** Ballinascreen, Shore Road, Greenisland, Co Antrim.

**DOBSON, Rt. Hon. John, M.A. Born:** 1929. **Education:** Trinity College, Dublin. First elected Unionist M.P. for West Down in June 1965. **Occupation:** Solicitor. **Address:** "Belville," Lurgan Road, Banbridge, Co. Down. **Tel.** Lenaderg 202 (home), Banbridge 3672 (business).

**DOHERTY, Patrick Lawrence** (Paddy). **Born:** Derry, 1926. **Educated:** Local school. **Married** with 6 sons and 7 daughters. **Career:** Founder member and first President of Derry Credit Union (1959-63). Vice-Chairman of Citizens' Action Committee, Derry (1968-69). Chairman of Derry Defence Association (1969). Presently full-time Organiser for the Bogside Community Development Association (1972). **Address:** (home) 10 Westland St., Derry. **Phone:** 65604. **Business:** Lecky Road, Derry. **Phone:** 61285.

**MARIE DRUMM. Born :** Drumalane, Newry, Co. Armagh. **Married.** One daughter and two sons. **Educated:** Local school. **Career :** Vice-President of Kevin St. Sinn Fein. Member of the Ard Comhairle, Sinn Fein. Member of the Comhairle Ceanntair of Sinn Fein in Belfast. **Address:** Andersonstown.

The majority of the entries in our "Who's Who In The North" are taken from replies to a *Hibernia* questionnaire. In some cases the people concerned have, for a variety of reasons, preferred not to disclose their current addresses.

# WHO'S WHO

## F

**FAULKNER, Rt. Hon. Arthur Brian D.,** D.L., Unionist M.P. for East Down. **Born:** 18th February 1921. **Educ.:** St. Columbas' College, Rathfarnham, Co. Dublin. **Career:** Elected M.P. 1949; Minister of Home Affairs 1959-63; Minister of Commerce 1963-69; Minister of Development 1969-71; Prime Minister of Northern Ireland 1971-72; Director, Belfast Collar Co. 1941-63; **Address:** Seaforde, Downpatrick, Co. Down. **Tel.:** Seaforde 663.

**FARRELL, Michael J.,** leading figure of the Peoples' Democracy. **Born:** Maherafelt, Co. Derry, 1944. **Educ.:** St. Patrick's College, Armagh. Queen's University; of Strathclyde. **Career:** Former executive member of the Northern Ireland Labour Party; Founder member of the Irish Association of Student Labour Organisations; Founder member of the Peoples' Democracy; Executive member of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association; Candidate for Bannside seat at Stormont in 1969; Member of the Central Committee of the Peoples' Democracy; Leading member of the Northern Resistance Movement; Founding editor of Unfree Citizen; **Publication:** "Struggle in the North."

Michael Farrell

**FERGUSON, Richard,** LL.B. (Hons.), B. A., M.P. for South Antrim. **Born:** 22nd August, 1935. **Educ.:** Rainey School, Magherafelt; Methodist College Belfast; Queens University; Trinity College. **Career:** Called to Northern Ireland Bar 1956; English Bar 1972; Elected Unionist M.P. for South Antrim 1968; Resigned Orange Order and Unionist Party 1969; Founder Member New Ireland Movement — 1971. Member: New Ulster Movement. **Married:** 8th September, 1961. 3 sons, 1 daughter. **Address:** Enniskillen; **Tel.:** Derryconnelly 240.

**FITT, Gerard (Gerry),** Leader of the Social Democratic and Labour Party, M.P. for West Belfast. **Born:** Belfast, 9th April, 1926. **Educ.:** Christian Brothers Primary School, Belfast. **Career:** Merchant seaman, 1941-'53; Insurance collector and unemployed 1953-62; Elected Dock Irish Labour M.P. for the Dock seat at Stormont, 1962; Elected Republican Labour M.P., for West Belfast seat at Westminster, 1966; Elected Leader of the S.D.L.P., 1971. **Married:** 5 daughters. **Address:** 85 Antrim Road, Belfast. **FITZSIMONS, Rt. Hon. William Kennedy,** P.C., M.P., Unionist M.P. for Duncairn. **Born:** Belfast, 31st January, 1909. **Educ.:** Belfast. **Career:** Member of Belfast Water Commissioners, 1948-57; Chairman Belfast Water Commissioners, 1954-57; Elected Unionist member for Duncairn seat at Stormont, 1956; Deputy Unionist Whip, 1961-63; Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Education, 1965/'66 and 1968-69; Minister of Development 1966-68; Minister of Health and Social Services, 1971; **Married:** in 1935, 2 daughters. **Address:** Sandown, Chichester Park, Belfast. Bt15 5DH. **Tel.:** 77692.

**FYFFE, William Samuel,** Unionist M.P. at Stormont for North Tyrone. **Address:** Clovelly, Derry Road, Strabane, Co. Tyrone. **Tel.:** Strabane 2386.

## G

**GARRETT, John Brian,** LL.B., Member of Executive Committee of the Northern Ireland Labour Party. **Born:** 30th April, 1937, Belfast. **Educ.:** St. Judes Public Elementary School; Methodist College, Belfast; Queens University, Belfast; **Career:** Joined the Northern Ireland Labour Party 1955; Qualified as Solicitor 1962; Lecturer at Queens University, Belfast. Elected Executive Committee of the NILP 1965; Policy Chairman of NILP 1969-72; Chairman Northern Ireland Society of Labour Lawyers; Hon. Legal Adviser Northern Ireland Committee of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions; Hon. Secretary Movement for Peace in Ireland (N.I. Committee); Hon. Secretary of Campaign for Abolition of Death Penalty; Publications: 'Discrimination — Pride for Prejudice'; 'State of Emergency'; Editor, Northern Ireland Law Society Gazette 1964-68; **Married:** 1 son, 2 daughters; **Address:** 27 Knockbreda Park, Belfast. **Tel.:** 649898.

**GORMLEY, Thomas Columba,** M.P. for Mid Tyrone. **Career:** Elected Stormont as Independent 1962. Joined the Alliance Party of Northern Ireland. **Address:** Knockbrack, Goshaden, Co. Derry. **Tel.:** Donemana 214 and Cross 215.

**GREY OF NAUNTON, Lord Ralph Francis Alnwick,** G.C.M.G., K.C.V.O., O.B.E., Governor of Northern Ireland. **Born:** 15th April, 1910. **Educ.:** Wellington College, New Zealand; Auckland University College; Pembroke College, Cambridge; **Career:** Barrister and Solicitor of Supreme Court of New Zealand, 1932; Associate to Hon. Mr. Justice Smith 1932-36; Probationer, Colonial Administrative Services 1936; Administrative Service, Nigeria; Cadet 1937; Assistant Financial Secretary 1949; Administrative Officer, Class 1, 1951; Development Secretary 1952; Secretary to Governor-General and Council of Ministers 1954; Chief Secretary of the Federation 1955-57; Deputy Governor-General 1957-59, Governor and Commander-in-Chief, British Guiana, 1959-64; Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Bahamas from 1964-68, and of the Turks and Caicos Islands from 1965-68; Appointed Governor of Northern Ireland, 2nd December, 1968; President Chartered Institute of Secretaries, N.I.; Hon. Bencher, Inn of Court of Northern Ireland; Hon. LL.D. Queens University, Belfast, 1971; Hon. Burgess of City of Belfast, 1972; Created G.M.G., 1955; K.C.M.G. 1959; G.C.M.C. 1964; K.C.V.O. 1956; O.B.E. 1951; **Married:** 1944, 2 sons, 1 daughter. **Address:** Government House, Hillsborough, Co. Down. **Tel.:** Hillsborough 244.

## H

**HALL-THOMPSON, Major Robert Lloyd,** M.P. **Born:** Belfast, 9th April, 1920. **Educ.:** Campbell College Preparatory School; Campbell Royal College. **Career:** Company Director, 1947 to date; Ulster Unionist Party, 1938; joined Territorial Army, 1938; served in British Army, 1939-'46. Rejoined Territorial Army, 1946-'56; retired as Major in Royal Regiment of Artillery, 1957; awarded Emergency Reserve Decoration, 1953; Territorial Decoration, 1956; Justice of the Peace, 1959; Vice-President and Past Chairman of Clifton Unionist Association; President and Trustee of North Belfast Working Men's Club; Life-Member and Past Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretary of the 'Not Forgotten' Association; Trustee and Hon. Secretary and Member of Management Committee of the Belfast Newsboys Club and the W.S. Armour Girls' Club; Vice-Chairman and Member of the Management Committee of the Samaritan Hospital; Member of the Northern Ireland Hospital Authority and Vice-Chairman of the Finance and General Purposes Committee; Vice-President Cliftonville Football and Athletic Club; Life Member of the Royal Ulster Agricultural Society; Steward and Member of the Committee of Freemen of Down Royal Corporation of Horse Breeders; Chairman, Cairnbrun Estates Ltd., Motor Equipment Ltd. **Clubs:** Ulster Club; Dirkistown Golf Club; Downpatrick Race Club. **Married:** Alison Freda Leitch, 11th September, 1948; 1 son, 1 daughter. **Address:** Maymount, Ballylesson, Belfast 8.

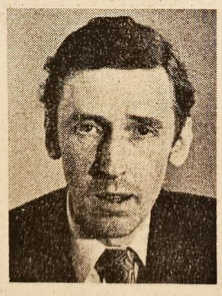
**HARKIN, Brendan Gabriel,** Chairman of the Northern Ireland Committee of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions. **Born:** 21st April, 1920, Belfast. **Educ.:** St. Mary's C.B.S., Belfast. **Career:** ETU Shop-steward and Convenor of Shopstewards (Harland and Wolff); President, Belfast Trade Council; Assistant Secretary, Northern Ireland Civil Service Association; General Secretary, Public Service Alliance; Chairman, Northern Ireland Committee and Executive Member of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions; Director, Northern Ireland Finance Corporation; Member of Northern Ireland Economic Council; Member, Working Party on Discrimination in Employment; Member, Industrial Relations Review Body; Vice-Chairman, Enterprise Ulster; Past President C.B.S. Past Pupils Union. **Married:** 1 son, 2 daughters. **Address:** 524 Antrim Road, Belfast BT15 5GG. **Tel.:** Belfast 77617.

**HENDRON, James,** Solicitor, Chairman of the Alliance Party. **Born:** 1st October, 1931. **Educ.:** Christian Brothers School, Oxford Street, and Barrack Street, Belfast; St. Malachy's College; Queens University. **Career:** Chairman Bloomfield Alliance Association, Belfast, April to November, 1970; Member of Executive of Alliance Party, April, 1970 to March, 1972. Elected Chairman of Alliance Party, March 1972. **Married:** 3 Children. **Address:** 6 Cromwell Road, Belfast. **Tel.:** 24274.

**HERRON, Thomas.** Vice-chairman of the Ulster Defence Association. **Born:** Belfast, 1938. **Address:** 2 Ravenswood Terrace, Belfast 6. **Tel.:** 57488.

**HOLMES, Joseph Erskine,** B.A., M.A., Chairman of the Northern Ireland Labour Party. **Born:** 4th February, 1940. **Educ.:** Annadale Grammar School, Belfast; Queens University. **Career:** Labour Candidate, Stormont Elections, Ballynafeigh, 1965 and '69; Westminster Elections, South Belfast, 1966, and Co. Armagh, 1970; Chairman of the N.I.L.P., 1971-72; Appointed National Organiser for N.I.L.P., September, 1972; Vice-Chairman, Belfast Branch I.N.T.O. **Married:** 3 children. **Address:** 8 Rosetta Park, Belfast.

**HOWELL, David,** M.P., Minister of State in Northern Ireland. **Born:** 1936. **Educ.:** Eton and Cambridge University. **Career:** Joined the Economic Section of the Treasury in 1959, resigned in 1960; Special Correspondent for the 'Daily Telegraph' in 1960; Editor of 'Crossbow', 1962-64; Director of the Conservative Political Centre, 1964-'66; Honorary Secretary of the U.K. Council of the European Movement; July, 1970, appointed Parliamentary Secretary to the Civil Service Department; Conservative Member of Parliament for Guildford since 1966; Appointed Minister of State in Northern Ireland, 1972. **Married** 1967, 1 daughter.



David Howell, M.P.

**HULL, Billy,** Chairman of the Loyalist Association of Workers (L.A.W.). **Born:** Conway Street, Belfast, 1912. **Educ.:** Primary School, Shankill Road. **Career:** Joined Northern Ireland Labour Party, 1948; Contested Belfast Corporation seat for Labour in late fifties; resigned from Labour Party, August, 1969; formed Worker's Committee for the Defence of the Constitution; changed its name to Loyalist Workers Association and later to Loyalist Association of Workers; Member of the Council of the Ulster Defence Association; Founder-Member of the Vanguard Movement and the United Loyalist Front; Shop-Steward in the Amalgamated Engineering Workers Union; Convenor of A.E.W.U. shop-stewards in the engine-shop at Harland and Wolff's Queen's Island Shipyard. **Address:** 137 Springmartin Road, Belfast.

**HUME, John,** M.A., M.P. **Born:** 18th January, 1937. **Educ.:** St. Columbus College, Derry; St. Patricks College, Maynooth; Hons. Graduate French and History; M.A. (History). **Career:** Founder-Member Derry Credit Union; President Credit Union League of Ireland, 1964-'68; Vice-President Derry Citizens Action Committee, 1968-'69; Elected M.P. for Foyle, 1969; Leading Member of the Social Democratic and Labour Party. **Married:** 5 children. **Address:** 5 West End Park, Derry. **Tel.:** 65340.

## J

**JACOTTET, Julian,** General Secretary of the Social Democratic and Labour Party. **Born:** London, 1932. **Educ.:** Brentwood School, Essex; Corpus Christi College, Oxford. **Career:** Times Publishing Company, 1956-'59; B.B.C. Radio Producer, 1959-'62; B.B.C. Television Producer, 1962-'72; appointed General Secretary of the Social Democratic and Labour Party, 1972. **Address:** 20 College Square, North, Belfast BT1 6AT.

## K

**KELLY, John William Basil,** B.A. (Mod.), LIB. (Hons.), M.P. for Mid-Down. **Born:** 10th May, 1920, Newbliss, Co. Monaghan. **Educ.:** Methodist College, Belfast; Trinity College, Dublin; Gray's Inn, London. **Career:** Called to English Bar—Middle Temple, 1970; Attorney-General for Northern Ireland, 1968-'72; Elected Unionist M.P. for Mid-Down, 1964. **Clubs:** Ulster Reform Club; Royal Belfast Golf Club. **Married:** Pamela Colthurst. **Address:** St. Catherines, Circular Road East, Cultra, Co. Down. **Tel.:** Holywood 2842.

**KENNEDY, John William,** O.B.E., Unionist M.P. for Cromac. **Address:** 8 Cooke Street, Belfast BT7 2EP. **Tel.:** 63163 (Home), 24517 (Business).

Paddy Kennedy, M.P.

**KENNEDY, Paddy,** B.A., M.P. for Belfast Central. **Born:** 1943. **Educ.:** Queen's University, Belfast. **Career:** Republican Labour M.P. for Belfast Central, 1969 to date; Executive member of Comhairle Ulladh, lost seat in 1972. Expelled City Council January, 1972. **Address:** 200 Upper Newtownards Road, Belfast BT4 3ET. **Tel.:** Belfast 655485.

**KEOGH, Michael Joseph,** M.P. for South Down. **Born:** 18th March, 1916. **Educ.:** Christian Brothers School, Newry. **Career:** Entered Journalism in 'Frontier Sentinel' weekly Nationalist newspaper in 1931. Editor 'Frontier Sentinel' until close down in late 1972; Member of Newry Urban Council for nineteen years, 1946-'65; Chairman Newry Urban Council, 1949-'58; Elected to Stormont as Nationalist M.P., 1967. **Married:** 4 sons, 2 daughters. **Address:** 9 Dora Avenue, Newry. **Tel.:** 2068.

**KILFEDDER, James Alexander,** Unionist M.P. (Westminster) for North Down. **Born:** 16th July, 1928, Kinlough, Co. Leitrim. **Educ.:** Portora Royal School, Enniskillen; Trinity College, Dublin. **Career:** M.P. for West Belfast (Westminster), 1964-66; M.P. for North Down (Westminster), 1970 to date; Secretary of Ulster Unionist Party at Westminster; Joint Secretary of N.I. Committee of Conservative Party. **Address:** Eastonville, Millisle, Co. Down. **Tel.:** Donaghadee 3222.

**KIRK, Rt. Hon. Herbert Victor,** B.Comm., Sc., F.C.A., J.P., Unionist M.P. for Windsor, Belfast **Born:** 5th June, 1912. **Educ.:** Queen's University, Belfast. **Career:** Elected M.P. 1956; Appointed Minister of Labour, 1962; Minister of Education, 1964; Minister of Finance, 1956. **Married,** 3 sons. **Address:** 57 Bawnviore Road, Belfast 9. **Tel.** Belfast 40251/666523.

## L

**LAIRD, John Dunn,** M.P. for St. Ann's. Expelled from Unionist Parliamentary Party January, 1972. **Address:** 47 Somerton Road, Belfast, BT15, 3LG. **Tel.:** Belfast 76261.

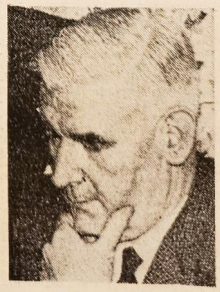
Capt. William Long, M.P.

**LONG, Captain the Rt. Hon. William J.,** J.P., Unionist M.P. for Ards, Minister of Education in the Stormont Government, 1971. **Address:** 'Lisvarna,' 50 Warren Road, Donaghadee, Co. Down. **Tel.:** Donaghadee 2538.

## M

**McARDLE, Arthur (Archie).** Chairman of the Northern Ireland Labour Party. **Born:** 4th October, 1917. **Educ.:** Ballinfull National School. **Career:** Serving Officer in the Belfast Fire Brigade. Represented firemen on the National Executive of the Fire Brigade Union for 20 years; Member of Youth Employment Council; **Married,** 4 daughters, 2 boys. **Address:** 105 Rossnaneen Avenue, Glen Road, Belfast BT11 8LQ.

**McATEER, Eddie,** Leader of the Nationalist Party Northern Ireland. **Born:** Derry, 1924. **Educ.:** Qualified Accountant. **Career:** First President of the Nationalist Party; Elected to Stormont for Mid-Derry, 1945. Defeated by John Hume in 1969. Leader of the Nationalist Party since 1964.



Eddie McAteer, M.P.

**McCANN, Sean,** B.A., National Chairman, Association for Legal Justice. **Born:** Belfast, 7th January, 1933. **Educ.:** St. Gall's Primary; St. Malachy's College; St. Joseph's College of Education, Belfast; London University. **Career:** Teacher, St. Thomas Boys' Secondary School, Belfast; Organist, St. Paul's Church, Falls Road, Belfast, 1963-'68; Adjudicator (L.G.S.M.) — Speech and Drama; Elected National Chairman, Association for Legal Justice, June, 1971; Member Irish National Teachers' Organisation. **Address:** 9 Glenhill Park, Belfast BT11 8GA. **Tel.:** Belfast 617464.

**McCONNELL, Robert Dodd,** M.P. for Bangor. **Career:** Former Independent Unionist M.P.; left Unionist Party 1972; joined Alliance Party. **Address:** 29 High Street, Bangor, Co. Down. **Tel.:** Bangor 4839.

**McCORRY, Kevin,** Full-Time Organiser for the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association. **Born:** 25th November, 1944. **Educ.:** Trinity College, Dublin. **Career:** Appointed full-time organiser of NICRA late 1969. Detained Crumlin Road Jail 11th August to end of September, 1971; Organiser and Press Officer of NICRA since February, 1971. **Married,** Mary Stuart, December, 1970, 2 sons. **Address:** 116 Cueeslough Park, Anderstown, or 2 Marquis Street, Belfast 1. **Tel.:** 23351/23750.

**McELROY, Albert H. Born:** Glasgow, 14th February, 1915. **Educ.:** Jordan Hill School, Glasgow; Trinity College, Dublin. **Career:** Former paid Secretary of the Northern Ireland Labour Party; former member of the Commonwealth Labour Party; Minister of Newtownards Non-Subscribing Presbyterian Church; **Married. Tel.:** Down, 3195.

**McFADDEN, Bernard** (Barney). **Address:** The Cottage, Stanley's Walk, Derry. **Phone:** 2575.

**McGRADY, Edward Kevin,** Chairman, Social Democratic and Labour Party (Northern Ireland). **Born:** 3rd June, 1935. **Educ.:** La Salle Grammar School, Downpatrick; Institute Chartered Accountants. **Career:** Elected Downpatrick Urban Dist. Co., 1961 to date; Elected Chairman Downpatrick Urban Dist. Co., 1964 to date; Chairman Finance Committee, Association Local Authorities, (N.I.); Contested Stormont Elections 1969 in East Down against Brian Faulkner; Partner, M. B. McGrady and Co., Chartered Accountants, Downpatrick. **Married:** 3rd November, 1959, 3 children. **Address:** 'Aileach,' Rathkeltair Road, Downpatrick, Co. Down. **Tel.:** Downpatrick 2307.

**McGUIGAN, Brian McKenna,** President of Incorp. Law Society of Northern Ireland. **Born:** Belfast, 13th December, 1907. **Educ.:** Christian Brothers, Belfast; Queen's University. **Career:** Former Member South Belfast Hospitals Committee; Former Member Eastern special area committee; Founder-Member of P.A.C.E. and N.U.M.; Vice-President of New Ulster Movement; Member of Senate of Queen's University, Belfast; Executive Member of Northern Ireland Association for Mental Health; Member of Northern Ireland Council for Social Services; Member of Irish Association; Member of Alliance Party. **Married:** 3 children. **Address:** 112 Malone Road, Belfast 9. **Tel.:** 668159.

## Political Organisations

**UNIONIST PARTY**
Mr. Jim Bailie, Ulster Unionist Council, 3 Glengall Street, Belfast 12. **Tel. 46254.**

**SDLP PARTY**
Mr. Julian Jacottet, Social Democratic and Labour Party, 20 College Square North, Belfast 1. **Tel. 25428.**

**NIL PARTY**
Mr. Douglas Melldoon, Northern Ireland Labour Party, 40 Waring Street, Belfast 1. **Tel. 22767.**

**ALLIANCE PARTY**
Mr. Robert Cooper, Alliance Party, 6 Cromwell Road, Belfast 7. **Tel. 24274.**

**LIBERAL PARTY**
Mr. Cecil Bell, Hon. Secretary, Ulster Liberal Party, 48 Rosemary Park, Bangor, Co. Down.

**DEMOCRATIC UNIONIST PARTY**
Dr. Ian R. K. Paisley, Democratic Unionist Party, 15 Ravenhill Road, Belfast, BT6 8GL. **Tel. 57106.**

**NATIONALIST PARTY**
Mr. E. McAteer, 25 William

# IN THE NORTH

**McILDOON, Douglas Bowman,** Secretary Northern Ireland Labour Party. **Born:** 13th September, 1945. **Educ.:** Dundonald Primary School; Methodist College, Belfast; Queen's University; Oxford University; London School of Economics. **Career:** Chairman, Oxford University Labour Club, 1965; Research Assistant, Oxford Centre for Management Studies, 1968; Appointed Secretary of the Northern Ireland Labour Party, 1969. **Married. Address:** Ravenhill Road, Belfast 6.

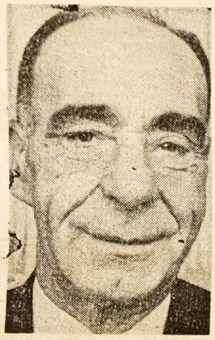
**McIVOR, Rt. Hon. William Basil,** LL.B., Barrister-at-Law, M.P., for Larkfield. **Born:** 17th June 1928. **Educ:** Methodist College Belfast; Queen's University. **Career:** Called to Bar of Northern Ireland 1950; Elected Unionist M.P. for Larkfield 1969; Appointed Minister of Community Relations in Stormont Government 1971; Member Commonwealth Parliamentary Association; Member Royal Ulster Agricultural Society. **Married:** Jill Anderson 1953. 2 sons, 1 daughter. **Address:** 2 Cherryvalley Park, Belfast BT5 6PL. **Tel:** Belfast 653232.

**McKEAGUE, John D.,** Chairman of the Shankill Defence Association. **Born:** Bushmills, Co. Antrim, 1933. **Educ.:** Bushmills, Co. Antrim. **Career :** Occupation shopkeeper; Loyalist candidate in North Belfast for Westminster seat in 1970 election; Editor of the Loyalist News; Former member of the Paisleyite group, Ulster Protestant Volunteers; charged with conspiracy after the blast which led to O'Neill downfall, but acquitted (1969); **Publisher** of the Orange Song Book; *Charged* under the Incitement to *Hatred Act as a result of this book, found not guilty.* **Address :** 140 Albertbridge Road, Belfast 5. **Tel. :** Belfast 57239.

**Frank McManus, M.P.**

**McMANUS, Frank,** Unity M.P. for Fermanagh/South Tyrone at Westminster; Chairman of the Northern Resistance Movement; Chairman of Comhairle Uladh; Imprisoned for 6 months in 1971 for marching against the Stormont ban on parades. **Married:** 1971, 1 Child. **Address:** 58 Belmore Street, Enniskillen, Co. Fermanagh.

**McMASTER, Stanley Raymond,** Unionist M.P. for East Belfast at Westminster. **Born:** Belfast, 23rd September, 1926. **Educ.:** Campbell College, Belfast; Trinity College, Dublin. **Career:** Called to English Bar, 1953; Elected Westminster, 1959; Lecturer in Company Law at the Regent Street Polytechnic, London. **Married:** 1959, 2 sons, 2 daughters. **Address:** 14 Nottinghill, Malone Road, Belfast 9. **Tel.:** 666425. **London Address:** 31 Embercourt Road, Thames Ditton, Surrey. **Tel.:** 01 398 3262.



**John McQuaide, M.P.**

**McQUAID, John (Johnny). Born: Belfast, 1912. Educated :** Local school. **Married.** No children. **Career :** Elected Unionist M.P. for Woodvale Constituency, Stormont (1966); became Member of the Ulster Democratic Unionist Party (1971). Resigned his Stormont seat in protest at direct rule (1972). Councillor (Unionist) for Court Ward, Belfast Corporation (1964-'68). **Present Occupation:** Dock labourer. Former professional boxer. Professional name Jack Higgins. **Address:** 82 Carnan St., Belfast. **Phone: 24056.**

**McSHANE, Patrick Rory,** Chairman of Newry Civil Rights Association. **Born:** 25th August 1946. **Educ:** Abbey CBS, Newry; Queens University Belfast; graduate in Arts-Diploma in Social Science. **Career:** President SRC at Queens University 1968-69; Vice President of Students in Ireland 1967-68; Vice President National Union of Students 1969-70. Member of University Senate 1968-69; Chairman of Newry CRA—Executive member of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association; Final year Solicitor's apprentice in Newry. **Address:** Killeany, Newry, Co. Down.

**MAGINNIS, John Edward,** J.P., M.P. **Born :** Tandragee, 7th March, 1919. **Career :** Elected Armagh seat at Westminster in 1959 (Unionist). Stadholder of the Williamite and Glorious Revolution Society; Vice-President of the Portadown Football Club; Former Group Secretary of the North Armagh Group of the Ulster Farmers' Union. 1956-59. Served as R.U.C. constable, 1939-45. **Married :** 1 son, 4 daughters. **Address :** Mandeville Hall, Mullahead, Tandragee, Co. Armagh. **Tel. :** 260. **London Address :** Queensway, W2. **Tel. :** 229 4663.

**MAGOWAN, Samuel J. P.,** M.P. for Iveagh, Co. Down. **Born:** 5th February, 1910. **Educ.:** Primary and Technical. **Career:** Member of Down County Council, 1955-'64; Member of Hillsborough Rural District Council, 1946-'64; Elected Unionist M.P. for Iveagh, 1964 to date; Appointed Assistant Party Whip Unionist Party, September, 1965; **Married,** 4 children. **Address** Ballycrune, Hillsborough, Co. Down. **Tel.:** Baillies Mills 204.

**MILLS, Peter,** M.P., Under Secretary in Northern Ireland Office of William Whitelaw. Former Under Secretary at the Ministry of Agriculture at Westminster. **Age :** 51. Prominent in Church of England Affairs.

**MILLS, Stratton,** Independent M.P. at Westminster for North Belfast resigned from Unionist Party, December, 1972). **Born** 1st July, 1932. **Educ:** Campbell College Belfast, Queen's University, Belfast. **Career :** Solicitor and Company Director; Elected to Westminster, October 1959; Vice-Chairman Northern Ireland Committee of Conservative Backbenchers; Chairman Conservative Broadcasting Committee; Member executive 1922 Committee. **Married:** 3 Children. **Address:** 17 Malone Park, Belfast.

**MINFORD, Rt. Hon. Nathaniel Owens,** Unionist M.P. for Antrim. Elected Stormont 1950; Appointed Senior Parliamentary Secretary to Minister of Development 1968; Farmer and Businessman. **Address:** 2 Birch Hill Avenue, Steeple Road, Antrim. **Tel:** Antrim 3214.

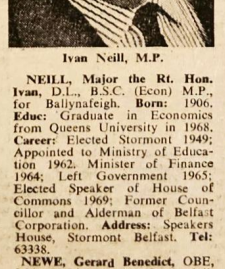
**MITCHELL, Captain Robert James,** T.D., J.P., M.P., for Armagh. **Career**: Expelled from Parliamentary Unionist Party in January 1972 for voting against the Government. **Address:** The Old Rectory, Lurgan, Co. Armagh. **Tel:** Lurgan 2621, Portrush 2547.

**MODNEAUX, James,** Unionist M.P. for South Antrim at Westminster; Sovereign Grand Master of the Grand Black Chapter; Deputy Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Co. Antrim.

**MOYOLA, LORD James Dawson,** (Formerly Chichester-Clark). **Born:** Castledawson, 12th February, 1923. **Educ:** Eton. **Career:** 1942-60, Regular Officer Irish Guards, retired as Major 1960; 1960, entered Parliament of Northern Ireland as Unionist; 1963, Appointed Assistant Chief Whip; 1966, Elected Leader of the House and Chief Whip; 1967, Appointed Minister of Agriculture; 1969-71, Prime Minister of Northern Ireland; 1971, Awarded Life Peerage and took title Lord Moyola of Castledawson. **Married:** 1959, Moyra Maud Haughton, 2 Children, 1 Stepson. **Address:** Moyola Park, Castledawson, Co. Londonderry.

## N

**NAPIER, Oliver John. Born:** Belfast, 1935. **Married** with 7 children. **Educated:** St. Malachy's College, Belfast, and Q.U.B. **Career:** Executive member of the Ulster Liberal Party (1962-69). Elected joint Political Chairman of the Alliance Party in 1970 and still holds that office. **Occupation:** Solicitor. **Address:** 104 Earlswood Road, Belfast 4. **Phone:** 650845.



**Ivan Neill, M.P.**

**NEILL, Major the Rt. Hon. Ivan,** D.L., B.S.C. (Econ) M.P., for Ballynafeigh. **Born:** 1906. **Educ:** Graduate in Economics from Queens University in 1968. **Career:** Elected Stormont 1949; Appointed to Ministry of Education 1962, Minister of Finance 1964; Left Government 1965; Elected Speaker of House of Commons 1969; Former Councillor and Alderman of Belfast Corporation. **Address:** Speakers House, Stormont Belfast. **Tel:** 63338.

**NEWE, Gerard Benedict,** OBE, MA, D.Litt. **Born:** Cushendall, Co. Antrim, 5th February, 1907. **Educ:** St. Malachy's College, Belfast; Belcamp College, Dublin. **Career:** Freelance Journalist 1930-42. Editor 'Ulster Farmer' 1934-61. Regional Organiser/Secretary Northern Ireland Council of Social Service 1942-1972; Member Northern Ireland Legal Aid Advisory Committee; Northern Ireland Industrial Training Council; Member Board of Governors Rupert Stanley College of Further Education; Member advisory Committee on adult Education; New University of Ulster; Chairman of Assisi Fellowship; Chairman West Belfast Community Services Committee; Chairman Research Committee, Northern Ireland Industrial Training Council; Founder member of 'PACE' (An Association for Protestant and Catholic Encounter); Founder member Irish National Commission for Justice and Peace; Member Northern Health and Social Service Board. Member Northern Ireland Cabinet 1971-72. **Publications:** 'The Catholic in the Northern Ireland Community'; 'The Story of the Northern Ireland Council of Social Services in Northern Ireland.' **Address :** Prospect House, Cushendall, Ballymena, Co. Antrim. **Tel.:** Cushendall, 219.

## O

**O'CONNOR, Roderick Hugh,** Chairman of Nationalist Parliamentary Party, M.P. for West Tyrone. **Born:** Omagh, 1910. **Educ.:** Christian Brothers, Omagh. **Career:** Elected Omagh Urban District Council, 1934; Elected M.P. for West Tyrone at Stormont, 1949; Director of North West Printing and Publishing Co.; Owner of Ulster Herald Newspaper group; **Married. Address:** John Street, Omagh, Co. Tyrone. **Tel.:** Omagh 2151.

**O'HAGAN, Desmond,** Education Officer, Six County Executive of Republican Clubs. **Born:** 29th March, 1934. **Educ:** London School of Economics; Queen's University. **Career:** Imprisoned 1957-60; Senior Lecturer Education Stranmills College, Belfast; interned Long Kesh 1971-72; Executive member of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association. **Married:** 2 children. **Address:** 2 Marquis Street, Belfast. **Tel.:** 23351.

**Paddy O'Hanlon, M.P.**

**O'HANLON, Patrick M.,** B.Comm., M.P. for South Armagh. **Born:** 8th May, 1944, Drogheda, Co. Louth. **Educ.:** Mullabawn P.S., Co. Armagh; St. Colman's College, Newry; University College, Dublin. **Career:** Elected to Stormont for South Armagh 1969 (Independent); joined Social Democratic and Labour Party at formation 1971. **Member:** G.A.A., Ceoltar Ceoltoiri, S.E. Ulster Development Associations. **Address:** Mullabawn, Forkhill, Co. Armagh. **Tel.:** Forkhill 270.

**O'KANE, James.** Leading figure in the Northern Ireland Republican Labour Party. **Born:** Dungiven, Co. Derry. **Educ.:** Dungiven Technical School. **Career:** Irish Labour Party Councillor for Dock Ward, Belfast Corporation 1958-61; Republican Labour Councillor for Smithfield Ward 1968. Disqualified as councillor for non-attendance while interned in Long Kesh August '71 to April '72; Chairman of North Belfast Branch of the Northern Resistance Movement; Editor of "Resistance" weekly newspaper. **Address:** 61 New Lodge Road, Belfast 15. **Tel.: 743913.**

**O'NEILL, Pheilim Robert Hugh,** M.P. for North Antrim. **Born:** 1910. **Career:** Unionist M.P. for North Antrim at Stormont and Westminster 1952; expelled from Orange Order June 1968; former Minister of Education and Agriculture; resigned from Unionist Party and joined the Alliance Party of Northern Ireland. **Address:** Lizard Manor, Aghadowey, Co. Derry. **Tel.:** Aghadowey 223.

**O'NEILL, Lord Terence of the Maine,** former Prime Minister of Northern Ireland. **Born:** 10th September, 1914. **Educ.:** Eton College. **Career:** Irish Guards 1939-45; elected M.P. 1946; appointed Secretary Ministry of Home Affairs, Health 1955; Minister of Home Affairs 1956-63; appointed Prime Minister of Northern Ireland 1963-69. **Address:** Glebe House, Ahoghill, County Antrim. **Tel.:** Ahogill 246.

**Lord O'Neill**

**O'REILLY, James,** Nationalist M.P. for Mourne. **Born:** Ballymartin, 1916. **Career:** Member of Kilkeel Urban District Council, 1954-'59; elected Nationalist M.P. for Mourne, 1958. Chief Whip of the Nationalist Party at Stormont. **Address:** Moneydarraghbeg, Ballymartin, Newry, Co. Down. **Tel.:** Annalong 617.

**O'SHEA, Michael Joseph,** Executive member of the Alliance Party of Northern Ireland. **Born:** 7th December, 1932. **Educ.:** Primary Schools Falls Road, Ardglass, Co. Down; St. Malachy's College, Belfast; College of Technology and Business Studies, Belfast. **Career:** Joined Alliance Party of Northern Ireland upon formation; elected Party Executive 1970; founder Editor/Designer of "Alliance" the party's monthly newspaper; first Chairman Publicity and P.R. Committee; currently member of Party's Local Government Policy Group. **Member:** Institute of Public Relations; former public relations Consultant Belfast and London and publicity executive with major industrial and scientific equipment manufacturers, London; currently mature student at St. Joseph's College of Education, Belfast; former Westminster Catholic Evidence Guild speaker, London. **Address:** 19 Andersonstown Road, Belfast BT11 9AF. **Tel.:** Belfast 615059.

**ORR, Captain Lawrence Percy Story,** M.P., Leader of the Ulster Unionist Parliamentary Party at Westminster, Imperial Grand Master of the Orange Lodge. **Born:** 16th September, 1918, Belfast. **Educ.:** Campbell College, Belfast; Trinity College, Dublin. **Career:** Volunteer in the ranks of the Royal Ulster Rifles 1939; Organiser for the Iveagh Unionist Association and Imperial Constituency of South Down; elected to Westminster for South Down 1950; Secretary of Party at Westminster for four years; Secretary of Conservative Broadcasting Committee for four years; Secretary of Conservative Fisheries Committee for three years; Vice-Chairman of Conservative Broadcasting Committee for two years. Member of Executive of British Chambers of Commerce for three years; member of Executive of International Chamber of Commerce for three years; Chairman of the United Protestant Council for six years; founder of L.O.L. 1688 in the House of Commons 1955; former Grand Master of England and President of the Grand Master Orange Council of the World. **Clubs:** Garrick Club, London. **Married:** 3rd October, 1939. 4 sons, 1 daughter. **Address:** House of Commons, London SW1A 0AA. **Tel.:** 01-219 3513.

## P

**PAISLEY, Ian Richard Kyle,** M.P., Leader of the Democratic Unionist Party. M.P. for Antrim North and Westminster. **Born :** Armagh, 1927. **Educ. :** Ballymena Primary School; Theological College of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in Belfast; Ordained by his father in 1946; Obtained B.A. degree (by mail) from Pioneer Theological College, Rochford, Illinois; M.A. degree (by mail) from Barton College and Seminary, Monitou Springs, Illinois; Awarded Honorary Doctrate of Divinity from the Bob Jones University, Greenborough, North Carolina, 1969. **Career :** Founder of the Free Presbyterian Church in Belfast in 1951, appointed first moderator to date; Founded Ulster Protestant Action in mid-fifties; Founded Ulster Constitution Defence Committee in 1965 and became first and only chairman; Editor and founder of the Protestant Telegraph (weekly paper); **Publications :** "An Exposition of the Epistle of the Romans," written in Jail in 1969; Founder—along with Desmond Boal of the Democratic Unionist Party, 1970..

**Ian Paisley, M.P.**

**PORTER, Rt. Hon. Robert Wilson,** Q.C., M.P. for Lagan Valley. **Born:** Londonderry, 23rd December, 1923. **Educ.:** Model School and Foyle College, Londonderry; Queen's University (Foundation Scholar 1947-48). **Career:** Called to the Bar of Northern Ireland 1950; Lecturer Queen's University 1950-51; Jnr. Crown Council, Co. Londonderry 1960-63, Co. Down 1964-65; Council to Attorney-General 1963-65; Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs and Minister of Health and Social Services 1969; Minister of Home Affairs 1969-70 in the Unionist Government. **Clubs:** Irish Association; The Military History Society of Ireland; Multiple Sclerosis Society. **Married:** 1 son, 1 daughter. **Address:** "Ardkeen" 86 Marlborough Park North, Belfast BT9 6HL. **Tel.:** 668797.

**POUNDER, Rafton John,** M.A., F.C.A., M.P. for South Belfast. **Born:** 13th May, 1933, Belfast. **Educ.:** Charterhouse; Christ's College, Cambridge. **Career:** Elected to Westminster 1963 as Unionist M.P. for South Belfast; 1964-67 Secretary, Ulster Unionist Parliamentary Party at Westminster; 1970-71, Parliamentary Private Secretary to Minister for Industry. **Married:** 1959, Valerie Stewart, 1 son, 1 daughter. **Address:** 64 Osborne Park, Belfast. **Tel.:** Belfast 669268.

## R

**RODGERS, James,** leading member of Executive of Ulster Vanguard Movement. **Born:** 14th January, 1943. **Educ.:** Mountpottinger Primary School; Park Parade Secondary; Belfast College of Technology. **Career:** Secretary of the Young Unionist Movement in Belfast area; Secretary of the Pottinger Unionist Association; Chairman of Pottinger Young Unionists; Delegate on both the Unionist Party's Standing Committee and Unionist Council; active in the Methodist Church; employed as a foreman in a large Belfast Engineering Limited. Company. **Married:** Margaret Reynolds, 2nd July '66. **Address:** 33 Princess Park, Holywood, Co. Down. **Tel.:** 4476.

## S

**SCOTT, Walter.** Unionist M.P. for Bloomfield. **Address:** 1 Rosepark, Dundonald, Belfast BT5 7RG. **Tel.:** Dundonald 3151 and Belfast 668797.

**SHILLINGTON, Sir Robert Edward Graham.** Chief Constable of the R.U.C. **Born :** Portadown, 2nd April, 1911. **Educ. :** Sedbergh School, Yorkshire; Clare College, Cambridge. **Career :** Cadet R.U.C., 1933; County Inspector, 1953; Belfast City Commissioner 1961; Deputy Inspector General of the R.U.C., 1969-70. **Clubs :** Member of the Ulster Club and Royal Belfast Golf Club. **Married :** 3 children. **Address :** Orchard Hill, Craigavad, Holywood. **Tel. :** 3471.

**SIMPSON, Dr. Robert W.,** M.P. for Mid-Antrim. **Born:** Ballymena, 1923. **Educ.:** Ballymena Academy and Queen's University, graduate in Medicine. **Career:** Elected M.P. for mid-

Street, Derry.

**REPUBLICAN LABOUR PARTY**

Mr. P. Kennedy, 200 Upper Newtownards Road, Belfast, BT4 3ET. **Tel. 655485.**

**CIVIL RIGHTS ASSOCIATION**

Mr. Kevin McCorry, Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association, 2 Marquis Street, Belfast. **Tel. 23351.**

**PEOPLES DEMOCRACY**

Mr. Paul Dillon, 50 Newry Road, Armagh.

**CENTRAL CITIZENS' DEFENCE ASSOCIATION**

Mr. Tom Conaty, Chairman, Central Citizens' Defence Association, 43 Falls Road, Belfast.

**VANGUARD**

The Secretary, 2 Knock Road, Belfast 4.

**ULSTER DEFENCE ASSOCIATION**

Mr. Thomas Herron, 297 Newtownards Road, Belfast 4.

**LOYALIST ASSOCIATION OF WORKERS**

Mr. William Hull, 28 Eastland Street, Belfast.

**NEW ULSTER MOVEMENT**

Mr. R. Boyle, New Ulster Movement, 3 Botanic Avenue, Belfast, BT7 1JG.

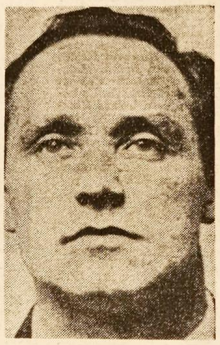
Antrim, 1953; former Chairman of Bannside Unionist Association; Appointed Minister of Community Relations, September, 1969; resigned from Orange and Masonic Orders, September, 1969; resigned from Unionist Party, October, 1972. **Address:** Random Cottage, Craigbilly, Ballymena Co. Antrim. **Office Address:** The Mill House, Bridge Street, Ballymena. **Tel.:** 6484 and 3666.

**SIMPSON, Vivian,** M.P. for Oldpark, Belfast. **Born:** Dublin, 23rd August, 1903. **Educ.:** The High School, Dublin. **Career:** Bank Clerk, Belfast and Royal Banks, Dublin, 1921-25; Secretary/Accountant Methodist Missionary Society in Nigeria, 1925-30. Draper and Footwear Merchant, Carrickfergus, Co. Antrim 1932-58; Northern Ireland Labour Party, Member of Parliament from 1958 onwards; 17 years member of Carrickfergus Borough Council, 1941-58; Honorary Secretary, Carrickfergus Hospital for 10 years, 1939-48; member of East Antrim Hospital Management Committee, 1948 to date; Vice - chairman Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society, Northern Ireland, 1969 to date; Chairman, Northern Ireland Voluntary Committee on Overseas Aid and Development, 1967 to date; member of Council of New University of Ulster; Northern Ireland Representative on U.K. Standing Committee for United Nations Second Development Decade, 1970 to date; Leader of Northern Ireland Labour Party, 1969 to date. **Address:** 33 Waterloo Gardens, Belfast, BT15 4EX. **Tel.:** Belfast 78646.

**SINCLAIR, Elizabeth (Betty).** Born Belfast, 3 December, 1910. **Educated:** St. Mary's Church of Ireland, Shankill Road. **Career:** Secretary (full-time) of Belfast and District Trades Union Council from 1947 until the present. Founder member of the N.I.C.R.A. and Chairman (1968-69). Member of the executive Committee of the N.I.C.R.A. (68-70). District Sec. of the Communist Party of Northern Ireland (1942-45). Member of the Executive Comm. of the C.P.N.I. 1940-1966). Currently member of the National Execut. of the C.P. of Ireland. Communist candidate for the Cromac seat at Stormont in 1945. Leading figure in the Textile Union in the late 1930s and former mill-girl. **Address:** (home) 4a Willowbrook House, Cregagh, Belfast 6. **Business:** 4 Waring St., Belfast. **Phone:** 26283.

**SMYTH, Rev. William Martin,** Vice-President Ulster Unionist Party; Deputy-Leader of Vanguard; Grand Master of Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland. **Born:** Belfast, 15th June, 1931. **Educ.:** Methodist College, Presbyterian College, Belfast; Magee University College; Trinity College, Dublin (B.A. in Arts and Divinity). **Career:** Assistant Minister in Finaghy; Minister in Raffiey, 1957-63; Minister in Alexandra, 1963 to date; Governor, Belfast City Mission; Council Member, Belfast Bible College; Vice-President Ulster Unionist Party; County Grand Master, County Grand Orange Lodge of Belfast; Editor: "Faith for Today"; **Publications:** "Why Presbyterian?" "Till Death Us Do Part"; "In Defence of Ulster"; "The Battle for Northern Ireland". **Married:** Kathleen Jean Johnston; 3 daughters. **Address:** 62 Salisbury Avenue, Belfast, BT15 5EA. **Tel.:** 76502.

**SPENCE, Augustus Andrew (Gusty).** Leading figure in the Ulster Volunteer Force. **Born:** 1933, Belfast. **Educ.:** Primary school until 14. **Career:** 1966, convicted and sentenced to a minimum of 20 years in jail for the murder of Peter Ward, a Catholic youth shot in Malvern Street, on June 25, 1966. Went on hunger strike for political status in August, 1967. Escaped while on parole on July 2, 1972; recaptured October, 1972.



Gusty Spence

**STEWART, Sarah Edwina,** Honorary Secretary, Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association. **Born:** 11th May, 1934. **Educ.:** Regent House, Newtownards College of Education; College of Technology, Belfast. **Career:** Teacher for 17 years; Hon. Sec. N.I.C.R.A. since 1970; Executive Committee member since 1969; Member of National Executive Committee, Communist Party of Ireland; formerly Secretary, Socialist Youth League and Northern Ireland Committee for Peace in Vietnam. **Married:** 2 girls. **Address:** 2 Marquis Street, Belfast. **Tel.:** 23351.

**STRAUBENZEE, W. R. Van,** M.P., Minister of State in Northern Ireland. **Born:** 1924. **Educ.:** Westminster School. **Career:** Solicitor since 1952. Conservative Member of Parliament for Wokingham 1959 to date; Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Minister of Education, 1960-62; appointed Minister of State in Northern Ireland, 1972.

**STRONGE, James Matthew,** Tynan, Co. Armagh. **Tel.:** M.A., Unionist M.P. for Mid Armagh. **Address:** Tynan Abbey, Middletown 205.

## T

**TAYLOR, Rt. Hon. John David,** Unionist M.P. for South Tyrone. **Born:** Armagh, 24 December, 1937. **Educ.:** The Royal School, Armagh; Queen's University, Belfast (B.Sc. in Faculty of Applied Science and Technology). **Career:** Elected M.P. South Tyrone, 1965 to date; Parliamentary Secretary in Ministry of Home Affairs, 1969-70; appointed Minister of State at Ministry of Home Affairs, 1970-72; Member of Northern Ireland Privy Council, 1970 to date. **Member:** Associate of the Institution of Civil Engineers of Ireland; Associate member of the Institute of Highway Engineers; Civil Engineer and Partner in C. D. Taylor and Associates, Architects and Civil Engineers. **Clubs:** Member of Armagh County Club; Armagh Rugby Club. **Interests:** Irish paintings; Irish glass. **Married:** Mary Frances Todd, 30th December, 1970. 1 daughter. **Address:** 4 Mullinure Park, Armagh. **Tel.:** Armagh 2409 or 3721. **Office:** 3744 or 2982.

**TUZO, Lt. General Sir Harry,** K.C.B., O.B.E., M.C., General Officer commanding Land Forces Northern Ireland. **Born:** 26th August, 1917. **Educ.:** Wellington College and Oriel College, Oxford. **Career:** Commissioned into Royal Artillery 1939; Ass. Commandant of Sandhurst, 1962-63; Chief of Staff of B.A.O.R., 1967-69; General Officer Commanding N.I., 1971. **Married:** 1 daughter. **Address:** Cloona House, Dunmurry. **Tel.:** Lisburn 5111.

General Tuzo

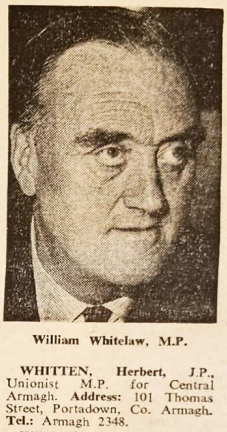
**TWOMEY, Seamus. Born:** Belfast 1920. **Educated:** Local primary school and Christian Bros. Technical School, Harding St., Belfast. **Married** with 5 children. **Career:** Member of the Republican movement in the 1940s. Left in late forties and rejoined in 1969. Now member of the Ard Comhairle of Sinn Fein (Kevin St). was reported as being the O.C. of the Belfast Brigade of the Provos. (1970-72) Has been reported as being member of the Army Council of the Provo I.R.A. (1970—until the present). **Address:** Anderstown, Belfast. Occupation before 1970—Bookmaker.

## W

**WALKER, Brian W.,** Founder Chairman New Ulster Movement. **Born:** 31st October, 1930. **Educ.:** Heversham School, Leicester College of Technology, Manchester University. **Career:** Personnel Manager "Pye" Radio, 1955-60; Personnel Manager, Bridgeport, Lisburn, 1960-67; General Manager, Bridgeport, Lisburn, 1967 to date; Chairman U.N.A. (N.I.); Member Society of Friends (Quakers). **Married:** 6 children. **Address:** Inniskeen, Carnreagh, Hillsborough, Co. Down. **Tel.:** Hillsborough 576.

**WEST, Henry William,** P.C., M.P. for Enniskillen. **Born:** 1917. **Educ.:** Portora Royal School. **Career:** Northern Ireland representative British Wool Marketing Board, 1950-58; High Sheriff for Fermanagh, 1954; President, Ulster Farmers' Union, 1955-56; Unionist Member of Parliament, Enniskillen, 1954 to date; Parliamentary Secretary Ministry of Agriculture, 1958; Minister for Agriculture, 1960. **Married:** Maureen Elizabeth Hall, 1956, 4 sons, 3 daughters. **Address:** Rossahilly House, Enniskillen, Co. Fermanagh.

**WHITELAW, Rt. Hon. William** (Stephen Ian), M.C., D.L., M.P., Secretary of State for Northern Ireland. **Born:** 28th June, 1918, Edinburgh. **Educ:** Winchester College and Trinity College Cambridge. **Career:** Member of Parliament for Penrith and Border Div. of Cumberland 1955 to date. Parliamentary Private Secretary to Chancellor of Exchequer 1957-58; Assistant Government Whip 1959-61; A Lord Commr. of the Treasury 1961-62; Parliamentary Secretary. Ministry of Labour July 1962 to October 1964; Opposition Chief Whip November 1964 to June 1970; Lord President of Council and Leader of House of Commons June 1970 to March 1972; Appointed Secretary of State for Northern Ireland March 1972 to date; Conservative member of Parliament. **Address:** House of Commons, London, S.W.1. England.

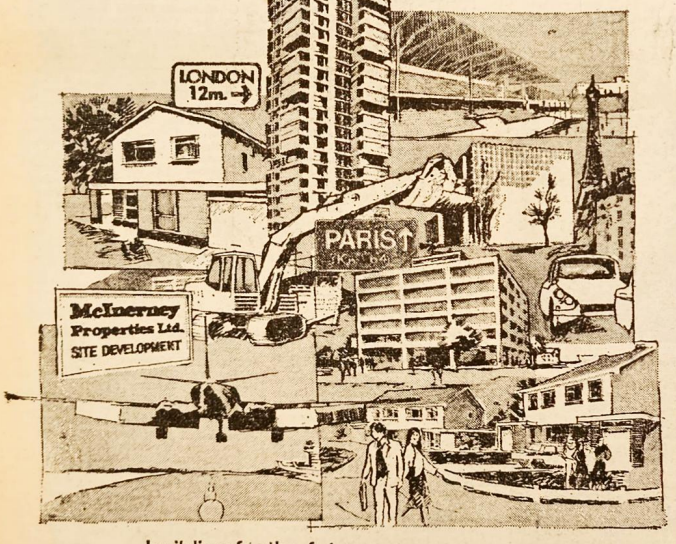


William Whitelaw, M.P.

**WHITTEN, Herbert,** J.P., Unionist M.P. for Central Armagh. **Address:** 101 Thomas Street, Portadown, Co. Armagh. **Tel.:** Armagh 2348.

**WINDLESHAM, Lord David James George Hennessy,** Minister of State in Northern Ireland. **Born:** January, 1932. **Educ.:** Ampleforth and Oxford. **Career:** Chairman of the Bow Group, 1959-'60 and 1962-'63; Member of Westminster Council, 1958-'62; Managing Director of Grampian Television, 1967; Vice-President of the British Cancer Council; succeeded his father in 1962.

**WILTON, Claude. Born:** Derry, 1921. **Educated:** Foyle College and Trinity, Dublin. Unmarried. **Career:** Liberal candidate for City of Derry seat (Stormont) 1965. Elected Independent senator by the votes of Hume and Cooper (1969). Became S.D.L.P. senator on formation of that party. **Interests:** Soccer football. **Occupation:** Solicitor. **Address:** 16 Crawford Square, Derry. **Phone** 2982.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# JULY

**1st**—Two civilians are shot dead in Belfast in mysterious sectarian killings. Thirteen demonstrators led by Mr. Michael Farrell of Peoples Democracy are removed at gunpoint from the Army camp at the Curragh as they try to hold a protest meeting outside the compound where Republican prisoners are detained.

**2nd**—Three civilians are found shot dead in Belfast and another five are wounded, some seriously in shooting incidents.

The British Army and the Provisional I.R.A. play down the significance of an early morning gun battle in Belfast, the first since the beginning of the cease-fire. A former leader of the U.V.F., Augustus Andrew Spence, known as 'Gusty' Spence, disappears while on parole from Crumlin Road Jail, Belfast.

**3rd**—Members of the Ulster Defence Association confront British troops in west Belfast after an attempt to extend a loyalist 'no-go' area fails.

**4th**—The British Prime Minister, Mr. Heath, says that the Taoiseach, Mr. Lynch, would "not have a seat at the conference of the people of Northern Ireland," but that a top-level meeting involving Mr. Lynch would be held following the conference.

**5th**—Mr. Whitelaw announces the setting up of a public protection agency to fight intimidation in the North.

Two Protestant brothers are found shot dead in Belfast. The 4th Amendment of the Constitution Bill (1972), which proposes to amend the constitution by reducing the voting age to 18 years, passes its second stage in the Dail.

**6th**—Intimidation in Belfast has reached such proportions that there is a danger of complete segregation between the two communities, according to social welfare agents and community leaders.

**7th**—The Derry command of the Provisional I.R.A., release two British Army officers whom they had captured on the edge of the Bogside 'no-go' area.

**8th**—For the second day running a confrontation between Catholics and Protestants over housing allocations in the Lenadoon area of Belfast is avoided when local Provisional I.R.A. leaders meet British Army officers and give them 24-hours to protect the families as they move to their new homes.

**9th**—Following a confrontation between the British Army and Catholics attempting to re-house families in the Lenadoon area of Belfast, the Provisional I.R.A. calls off its cease-fire.

Gun battles break out throughout the North and six people are killed. Hundreds of demonstrators clash with gardai and troops at the Curragh Army Camp, Co. Kildare, during a protest by Sinn Fein (Kevin Street) against the imprisonment of Republicans there.

**10th**—The Northern Ireland Secretary of State, Mr. William Whitelaw reveals in the British House of Commons that he met leaders of the Provisional I.R.A. two days before they unilaterally ended the cease-fire.

As violence continues in the North, the British Army announce that they are sending 1,200 more troops to the area, in preparation for the Orange parades on the 12th. 'Gusty' Spence, former leader of the U.V.F. who disappeared while on parole from Crumlin Road Jail, appears on national television in Britain and says that the Ulster Volunteer Force had taken him "against his will."

**11th**—On the eve-of-the-Twelfth celebrations in the North, Catholic districts are turned into 'no-go' areas by the Provisional I.R.A. and the Catholic Ex-Servicemen's Association.

Three men die in shooting incidents in Belfast and in Derry a British soldier is shot dead.

**12th**—The Twelfth of July celebrations go off with few disturbances as 100,000 Orangemen march throughout the North, but five civilians and two British soldiers are killed in shooting incidents.

The Taoiseach sets August 2nd as the date for the Mid-Cork by-election.

**13th**—Five British soldiers and two civilians are shot dead in Belfast. A local Orange hall and disused adjoining house are burnt when trouble erupts for the second time in twenty-four hours in the Donegal village of St. Johnston.

**14th**—After a two-day debate which approves general Government policy including that on the North by 67 votes to 64 the Dail adjourns until October 25th.

Three people are killed and many more injured as another wave of vicious street violence erupts in Belfast.

**15th**—Mr. Eugene Fitzgerald a 39-year-old Cork business executive is selected as the Fianna Fail candidate in the Mid-Cork by-election. A further 100 people arrive in Dublin from the North, bringing the total number of refugees in the South to 7,000.

**16th**—Three British soldiers, an R.U.C. constable and a civilian are killed in Northern Ireland. A large shopping centre in Kilrea, Co. Derry, is wrecked by a car bomb.

**17th**—Cathal Goulding, Chief-of-Staff of the Official I.R.A. says that the three month truce observed in Northern Ireland by the 'Officials' is to continue.

**18th**—The leader of the British Labour Party, Mr. Harold Wilson meets leaders of the Provisional I.R.A. in London. Mr. Whitelaw announces the names of the members of the Provisional I.R.A. whom he met in a private house in London on July 7th this year—Messrs. Adams, Bell, McGuinness, O'Connell, Stevenson and Twomey. A British Army sentry and a night watchman are killed by gunfire in Belfast.

**19th**—A five-month-old baby is killed in an explosion in Strabane, Co. Tyrone and in Belfast a man is shot dead on the Springfield Road.

**20th**—A prisoner in Crumlin Road Prison, Belfast is shot in the back by a gunman during disturbances on the roof of the jail. Mr. Julian Jacottet, a former B.B.C. television producer, is appointed General Secretary of the Social Democratic and Labour Party in Northern Ireland.

**21st**—The Belfast battalion of the Provisional I.R.A. admits responsibility for a series of 22 explosions throughout the city which kills 11 people and injures 130. The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Dr. Hillery meets the Northern Ireland Secretary of State, Mr. Whitelaw, in London, for talks on Northern Ireland.

**22nd**—As the British Army move against the Provisional I.R.A., five more people are killed in shooting incidents. Mr. Whitelaw, orders searches of Catholic areas in Belfast, in order to curb further bomb attacks in the city.

**23rd**—The President of Sinn Fein (Gardiner Place), Thomas MacGiolla is refused permission to enter Britain "for reasons of national security."

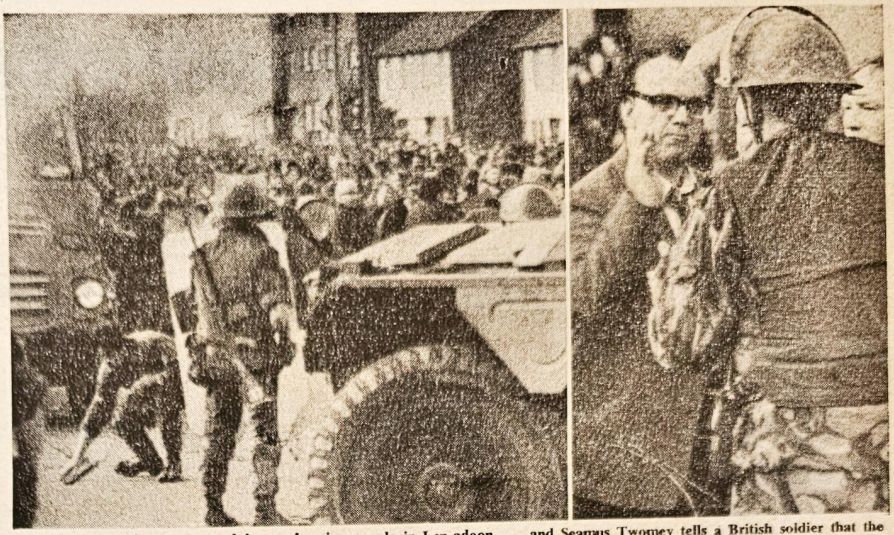
**24th**—A British soldier and three civilians are shot dead in Northern Ireland. The Ulster Vanguard Movement and the Ulster Defence Association announce different methods to force the Westminster Government into taking stronger action against the I.R.A.—this is taken as a widening of the split between the two groups.

**25th**—The British Army claim that it is again operating patrols in the 'no-go' area of Free Derry.

**26th**—The main opposition party in the North, the Social Democratic and Labour Party say they are seriously considering the idea of a condominium for Northern Ireland as a political solution to the present grave crisis. The bodies of two men are found in a burned out car off the Crumlin Road in Belfast and in another part of the city a British soldier is shot dead. Thousands of workers leave their places of employment in many centres throughout the North, to take part in a one-day stoppage called by the Ulster Defence Association to commemorate the victims of the previous Friday's Provisional I.R.A. bombings in Belfast.

**27th**—The British Government sends 4,000 more troops to Northern Ireland. A hunger strike by Renublican prisoners in the Curragh detention centre and Portlaoise Prison which has been continuing for the past 33-days ends after their demand for political status is met. The body of a man is found in a bag in the Sandy Row area of Belfast.

**28th**—The Irish Congress of Trade Unions accepts the revised national pay pact by 234 votes to 143. Two men are found shot dead in Belfast.



**A Catholic crowd are prevented from rehousing people in Len adoon . . . and Seamus Twomey tells a British soldier that the cease-fire is over.**

**29th**—About 200 troops and gardai most of them in riot gear stand guard when 50 People's Democracy supporters hold a peaceful protest at the Curragh military camp.

**30th**—Extra troops and heavy armoured vehicles are moved into position, as the British Army prepares to move into the 'no-go' areas of the North.

**31st**—Shortly before 4 a.m. British Troops, supported by Saracens and Centurion tanks, move into the Republican 'no-go' areas of Derry, Belfast and other strongholds throughout the North. Barricades in Protestant areas are also removed. During the operation two men are shot by the army in Derry. In Claudy, Co. Derry six people are killed and 32 people injured when three car bombs explode.

The raw material of progress

Saint Lawrence's Gate at Drogheda has watched over more change in the last generation than in its previous seven centuries. For when Cement Limited began production at Drogheda in 1938, the growth that was to make the modern Ireland was only beginning.

As the first cement came out of the Boyne plant, our infant industries were just beginning to find their feet; our national airline just beginning to spread its wings; our natural resources of river and bog just beginning to hint at their potential.

In the 34 years since, the manufacture of Irish cement has saved us foreign exchange, given stable employment, helped foster a tradition of technical skill. Above all, perhaps, it has provided a standard product of consistent quality for the country to rely on as the foundation for its progress.

CEMENT LIMITED

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Why Russia?

Because it's one of the few markets that we at Wavin have not yet explored. But we're getting close, having made friendly forays recently into other Iron Curtain countries.

Exploring is one thing—selling is another, as we at Wavin well know. It's a tough, competitive world out there, and you've got to have the goods to succeed. We have, obviously, in our lightweight PVC pipe for water and sewage systems. And in our unique fittings that are winning markets even in countries having their own PVC pipe industries.

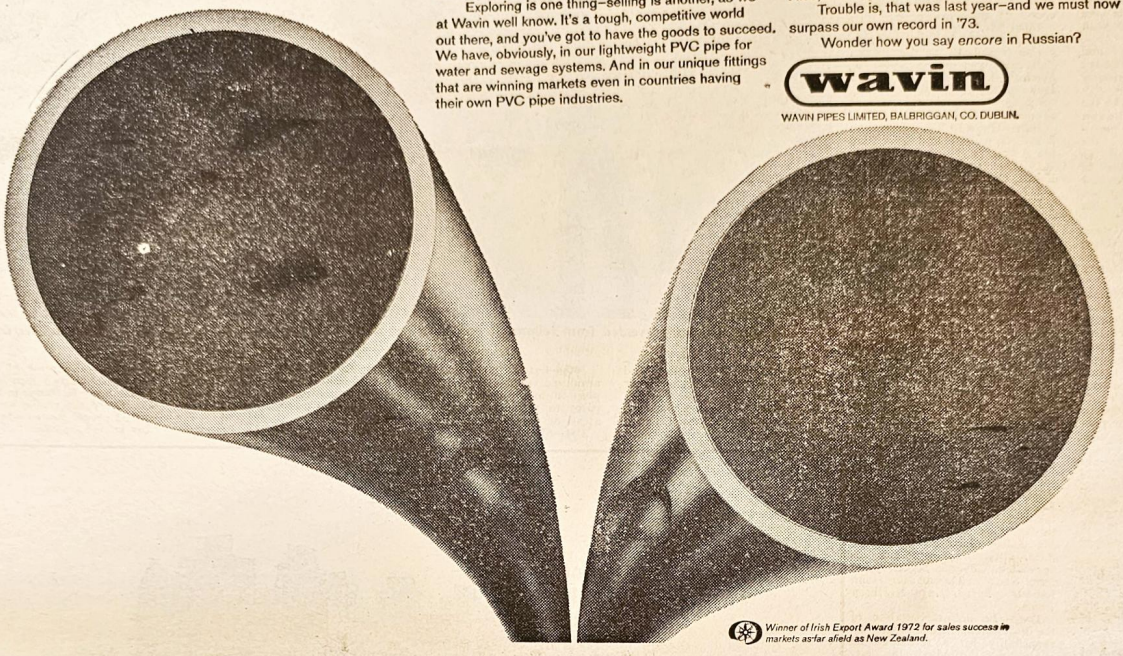
In 1972, Wavin exported 3,500 miles of pipe and fittings, 45% of our total output. Producing good employment for some 350 workers at home. Earning valuable foreign currency (and helping offset some needless foreign pipe imports!). Also, winning us a coveted Irish Export Award.

Trouble is, that was last year—and we must now surpass our own record in '73.

Wonder how you say *encore* in Russian?

wavin

WAVIN PIPES LIMITED, BALBRIGGAN, CO. DUBLIN.



Winner of Irish Export Award 1972 for sales success in markets as far afield as New Zealand.



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**DETAILS TO RETAINED AGENTS:—**

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# AUGUST

**1st**—A delegation from the Social Democratic and Labour Party fly by helicopter from Lifford in Donegal to Dublin for a meeting with Mr. George Colley, Minister for Finance and Dr. Hillery, Minister for Foreign Affairs to discuss the latest peace initiatives on Northern Ireland.

The Loyalist Association of Workers led by Mr. Billy Hull, announces that it intends to fight all future elections including the local government elections this autumn.

**2nd**—The Minister for Justice, Mr. O'Malley orders that all licensed weapons, other than shotguns and rifles of .22 calibre or less, to be handed over to the gardai "in the interest of public safety".

Members of the Ulster Defence Association in East Belfast are put on stand-by alert following a shooting attack on the Sirocco Engineering Works, in which two Protestant workers were injured.

**3rd**—Mr. Gene Fitzgerald the Fianna Fail candidate in the Mid-Cork by-election is elected on the second count. The result was as follows:

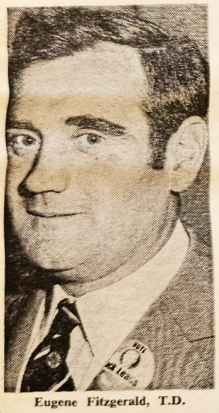
Fitzgerald (Fianna Fail) 19,959. Second Count. 20,214.

O'Sullivan (Fine Gael) 12,530. Second Count. 12,788.

Desmond (Labour) 6,301. Second Count. 6,711.

O'Callaghan (Aontacht Eireann) 1,172 (lost deposit).

Dr. Hillary, Minister for Foreign Affairs meets Mr. William Whitelaw, Secretary of State for Northern Ireland in London for discussions on the present situation in the North.



Eugene Fitzgerald, T.D.

**4th**—A British soldier is shot dead in the Andersonstown area of Belfast and in Portadown a man is found murdered.

**5th**—The Irish Army defuse a bomb found in the border town of Lifford, Co. Donegal. The number of Northern refugees still in the South is 931 according to the Department of Defence.

**6th**—Two British soldiers are killed and two others injured when an Army patrol is caught in a mine ambush near Lisnaskea, Co. Fermanagh.

**7th**—The Social Democratic and Labour Party begin talks with Mr. William Whitelaw, Northern Ireland Secretary of State. A member of the Ulster Defence Regiment is shot dead, and a British soldier dies when his ferret scout car crashes while being stoned by youths in Armagh. The latest killings bring the total number killed in the North since 1969 to 500.

**8th**—The talks between the S.D.L.P. and Mr. Whitelaw continue in Belfast. Members of several organisations including both wings of Sinn Fein and the Trade Union Rights Committee receive summoneses in connection with the sale of left-wing literature at the G.P.O. in O'Connell Street, Dublin. Thirteen explosions occur in Belfast and Armagh but no casualties are reported.

**9th**—Widespread protests take place throughout the North on the 1st anniversary of internment. A further 47 men are freed from Long Kesh internment camp bringing the total number released to 660 since Mr. Whitelaw took over in the North. Martin Meehan, a leading member of the Provisional I.R.A. is captured by troops in the Ardoyne area of Belfast. The Minister for Justice, Mr. O'Malley makes a further order controlling explosives, including ammonium nitrate and sodium chlorate, said to be bomb making elements.

Martin Meehan

**10th**—Mr. Whitelaw, Secretary of State for Northern Ireland orders the control of all full-bore rifles by storage in armouries throughout the North. The British Army announce that plastic bullets are to be used in riot control in the North. The New Ireland Movement which describes itself as "Non-party political and non-sectarian" publishes its first pamphlet on the Northern situation entitled 'There are no evil men'.

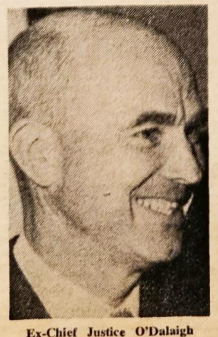
**11th**—Mr. William Whitelaw, Secretary of State for Northern Ireland announces an all-party conference on the future of the North for September 25th. Two teenage members of the Provisional I.R.A. are killed in Belfast.

**12th**—The August 12th Apprentice Boys' march in Derry passes off without any serious incidents. A man is found shot dead in Belfast.

**13th**—The Republican Labour M.P., Mr. Paddy Kennedy, invites the Official and Provisional I.R.A. to attend the all-party conference on the North as his advisers. In Belfast a man is found shot dead and four British soldiers are injured in an explosion.

**14th**—A British Army major and a soldier are killed in a bomb explosion at the G.A.A. grounds in Andersonstown, Belfast.

**15th**—Mr. Justice Cearbhall O'Dalaigh, Chief Justice and President of the Supreme Court, is appointed as the Irish member of the E.E.C.'s Court of Justice. The Provisional I.R.A. rejects the proposal by Mr. Paddy Kennedy, M.P., to attend the 'Whitelaw all-party conference on Northern Ireland' as his advisers.



Ex-Chief Justice O'Dalaigh

**16th**—Mr. Whitelaw's Northern Ireland office announces a reward of £50,000 for information leading to the arrest and conviction of those responsible for motiveless sectarian killings. A barman is shot dead by gunmen in the Shankill area of Belfast. 25 more internees are released from Long Kesh.

**17th**—Following a 200 lb. bomb explosion which wrecked a Protestant pub in the Shankill area of the city, about 1,500 members of the Ulster Defence Association begin patrolling loyalist areas of Belfast. A British soldier is shot dead in Belfast—the 301st victim of Northern violence this year.

**18th**—In Belfast two British soldiers are killed and two others seriously injured. A Co. Cavan man is found shot dead in a Protestant district of east Belfast.

**19th**—The Provisional I.R.A. claim responsibility for the shooting of a man whom they claim was a "U.D.A. spy" in the Lower Falls area of Belfast. More than 5,000 members of the Ulster Defence Association march through Belfast in a show of force.

**20th**—For the first time under a Fianna Fail Government, the Minister for Defence and Army representatives attend the annual commemoration of the death of Michael Collins, the first Commander - in - Chief of the Army.

**21st**—British soldiers find large quantities of explosives near the border at Armagh.

**22nd**—The Provisional I.R.A. accept responsibility for the explosion at the customs clearance depot at Cloghohue, Newry, which killed eight men, including two youth who planted the bomb. A prominent member of the Loyalist Association of Workers, Mr. James Johnston, is found shot dead in Truin Street, Belfast. The Committee of Public Acounts report published today says that more than £76,000 of a £100,000 grant-in-aid voted by the Government for the relief of distress in the North in 1969 has not been accounted for.

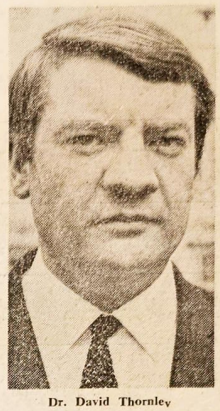
**23rd**—Another body is found in the rubble of the Newry customs post, bringing the total number of dead in the explosion to nine.

**24th**—Two British soldiers are killed in ambushes and two more are seriously injured in Derry and Armagh. The windows of an army jeep on patrol on the Border at Courtbane, Co. Louth, are smashed when scuffles break out between groups of men and soldiers. CS gas is used during the incident.

**25th**—Two members of the Ulster Defence Regiment are killed in a car-bomb explosion near Enniskillen, Co. Fermanagh. In Derry a British Army Sergeant is shot dead by a sniper—the 533rd victim of the Northern troubles.

**26th**—Three members of the Provisional I.R.A. die in a bomb explosion at the Downpatrick racecourse. In Derry a British soldier is shot dead and in Belfast three more people are found murdered by assassination groups.

**27th**—Two more people are killed in the north including a British soldier. Members of Sinn Fein (Gardiner Place) and the G.A.A. play a seven-a-side football match outside the home of the British Ambassador at Sandyford, Co. Dublin, to protest



Dr. David Thornley

against the occupation of Casement Park G.A.A. ground in Belfast by the British Army.

**28th**—Two British soldiers are shot dead in Belfast and in Co. Fermanagh the unidentified body of a man is found at the site of a small explosion. The British Minister of State for Trade and Industry in Northern Ireland, Mr. Paul Channon, rejects suggestions that the Northern economy is in danger of collapse as a result of the Northern troubles.

**29th**—Two members of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association in Newry, Mr. Sean Hollywood and Miss Moira McCoy, resign from the local association following the committee's refusal to endorse a statement calling for action against the Provisional I.R.A.

**30th**—Mr. Robin Baillie, a former Minister in the Faulkner Government, resigns from the Unionist Party.

**31st**—A three-man delegation from the executive of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association ask for a meeting with the Chief-of-Staff of the Provisional I.R.A., Mr. Sean Mac Stiofain, to call for an end to the bombing campaign. Mr. Erskine Holmes, Chairman of the Northern Ireland Labour Party, is appointed to the position of full-time party director. At a meeting of the Parliamentary Labour Party in Leinster House, the Party Leader, Mr. Corish, reshuffles his shadow cabinet. One of the main changes in the reshuffle is the demotion of Dr. David Thornley to the less important folio of Posts and Telegraphs.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Old style glass was heavy and fragile. In a new world of fast, large-volume production lines and increased handling in supermarkets, big changes in glass were called for. In 1965, Irish Glass Bottle began to make these big changes. IGB bought new plant, developed new processes, kept in close touch with the working glass revolution all over the world. As a result, Irish glass is now lighter, stronger, cheaper than ever before.

## Outlook bright & clear

IGB are continually developing new kinds of glass - and new ways to use them in packaging. Glass has enormous potential as a selling aid; the IGB design team is exploiting that potential every day. To keep glass right out in front as the packaging medium of the seventies, IGB have got the new ideas, backed up by all-round expertise and a service which is unique in Ireland. IGB glass packaging is really competitive; free trade conditions will only help to prove this point. So if you've got a product for the seventies, look into the working glass revolution. Talk to IGB. Get the facts and figures - and see some of the ideas which will make working glass a clear winner in packaging for the seventies - and after.

PURE **IRISH GLASS**

The Irish Glass Bottle Co. Ltd., Charlotte Quay, Dublin 4.

# REFERENDA RESULTS

| | Total Electorate | Total Poll (as % of total electorate) | Spoilt Votes (as % of total poll) | Total Valid Poll (as % of total electorate) | In Favour (as % of total valid poll) | Against (as % of total valid poll) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Plebiscite on the Constitution 1937** | 1,774,921 (100.0%) | 1,346,207 (75.8%) | 134,157 (10.0%) | 1,212,050 (68.2%) | 685,105 (56.5%) | 526,945 (43.5%) |
| **3rd Amendment of the Constitution Bill 1959 (abolition of P.R.)** | 1,678,550 (100.0%) | 979,678 (58.4%) | 39,367 (4.0%) | 940,311 (56.1%) | 453,322 (48.2%) | 486,989 (51.8%) |
| **3rd Amendment of the Constitution Bill 1968 (single-seat constituency)** | 1,717,389 (100.0%) | 1,129,477 (65.8%) | 48,489 (4.2%) | 1,080,988 (62.9%) | 424,185 (39.2%) | 656,803 (60.8%) |
| **4th Amendment of the Constitution Bill 1968 (abolition of P.R.)** | 1,717,389 (100.0%) | 1,129,606 (65.8%) | 48,212 (4.2%) | 1,081,394 (63.0%) | 423,496 (39.2%) | 657,898 (60.8%) |
| **3rd Amendment of the Constitution Bill 1971 (E.E.C. entry)** | 1,783,604 (100.0%) | 1,264,278 (70.9%) | 10,497 (0.8%) | 1,253,781 (70.3%) | 1,041,890 (83.1%) | 211,891 (16.9%) |
| **4th Amendment of the Constitution Bill 1972 (voting age from 21 to 18)** | 1,783,604 (100.0%) | 903,439 (50.6%) | 47,089 (5.2%) | 856,350 (48.1%) | 724,839 (84.6%) | 131,514 (15.4%) |
| **5th Amendment of the Constitution Bill 1972 (special position of Catholic Church)** | 1,783,604 (100.0%) | 903,669 (50.6%) | 49,236 (5.4%) | 854,433 (47.2%) | 721,003 (84.4%) | 133,430 (15.6%) |

## VOTING IN THREE REFERENDA THIS YEAR

| CONSTITUENCY | Referendum on Article 44 "Yes" | Article 44 "No" | Referendum on Votes at 18 "Yes" | Votes at 18 "No" | Referendum on E.E.C. Entry "Yes" | E.E.C. Entry "No" |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Carlow-Kilkenny | 26,589 | 4,040 | 26,688 | 3,966 | 36,588 | 7,278 |
| Cavan | 16,775 | 1,838 | 16,737 | 1,875 | 24,266 | 3,178 |
| Clare | 15,099 | 2,389 | 15,389 | 2,177 | 22,833 | 3,510 |
| Clare-South Galway | 15,298 | 1,813 | 15,425 | 1,759 | 22,027 | 2,855 |
| Cork City North-West | 11,821 | 4,805 | 12,737 | 3,881 | 21,208 | 3,955 |
| Cork City South-East | 13,701 | 5,212 | 14,561 | 4,436 | 22,887 | 4,492 |
| Mid - Cork | 20,430 | 4,571 | 21,069 | 4,040 | 31,962 | 6,050 |
| Cork North-East | 20,986 | 4,640 | 21,521 | 4,201 | 32,439 | 5,544 |
| Cork South-West | 14,620 | 4,545 | 15,259 | 3,947 | 24,553 | 3,680 |
| Donegal North-East | 13,260 | 1,736 | 13,620 | 1,408 | 22,554 | 2,030 |
| Donegal - Leitrim | 14,705 | 1,937 | 15,092 | 1,538 | 22,005 | 3,908 |
| Dublin Central | 15,718 | 3,648 | 15,663 | 3,752 | 22,289 | 6,750 |
| Dublin North-Central | 18,933 | 4,505 | 18,734 | 4,850 | 26,257 | 7,028 |
| Dublin North-East | 24,128 | 4,450 | 23,801 | 4,835 | 31,637 | 8,930 |
| Dublin North-West | 16,386 | 3,488 | 16,419 | 3,471 | 22,494 | 6,978 |
| Dublin South-Central | 19,582 | 4,134 | 18,918 | 4,983 | 25,766 | 7,955 |
| Dublin South-East | 15,267 | 3,138 | 14,485 | 3,809 | 20,859 | 4,692 |
| Dublin South-West | 14,956 | 2,901 | 14,942 | 2,831 | 19,893 | 7,344 |
| North County Dublin | 23,804 | 3,897 | 23,386 | 4,370 | 32,004 | 8,125 |
| South County Dublin | 20,966 | 3,572 | 20,239 | 4,461 | 26,838 | 5,901 |
| Dun Laoghaire/Rathdown | 27,136 | 4,443 | 25,656 | 6,032 | 34,102 | 6,474 |
| Galway North-East | 13,721 | 1,385 | 13,856 | 1,296 | 21,398 | 2,283 |
| Galway West | 12,903 | 1,813 | 12,747 | 1,981 | 17,400 | 4,806 |
| Kerry North | 12,886 | 1,946 | 13,088 | 1,801 | 18,500 | 6,064 |
| Kerry South | 12,642 | 1,942 | 12,967 | 1,652 | 19,237 | 4,890 |
| Kildare | 16,942 | 2,369 | 16,851 | 2,492 | 23,213 | 4,599 |
| Laois-Offaly | 25,171 | 4,452 | 25,663 | 4,079 | 35,728 | 5,823 |
| Limerick East | 18,109 | 6,133 | 19,074 | 5,177 | 25,957 | 7,280 |
| Limerick West | 16,327 | 2,772 | 16,621 | 2,548 | 22,971 | 3,432 |
| Longford - Westmeath | 18,592 | 3,141 | 18,738 | 2,964 | 28,210 | 4,710 |
| Louth | 16,449 | 2,811 | 16,249 | 2,984 | 24,623 | 4,187 |
| Mayo East | 13,729 | 1,376 | 13,830 | 1,279 | 20,691 | 2,422 |
| Mayo West | 12,593 | 1,419 | 12,734 | 1,321 | 19,157 | 2,332 |
| Meath | 15,689 | 2,577 | 15,665 | 2,665 | 23,765 | 4,605 |
| Monaghan | 13,987 | 1,901 | 14,000 | 1,899 | 23,179 | 3,330 |
| Roscommon - Leitrim | 15,421 | 2,416 | 15,827 | 2,035 | 22,954 | 3,375 |
| Sligo - Leitrim | 14,578 | 2,496 | 15,068 | 2,129 | 22,915 | 3,598 |
| Tipperary North | 15,578 | 3,014 | 15,862 | 2,780 | 22,147 | 4,286 |
| Tipperary South | 20,801 | 4,353 | 21,342 | 3,963 | 29,343 | 5,638 |
| Waterford | 17,174 | 2,902 | 16,836 | 3,241 | 24,086 | 4,964 |
| Wexford | 21,032 | 3,544 | 21,121 | 3,408 | 28,635 | 7,105 |
| Wicklow | 16,519 | 2,968 | 16,354 | 3,206 | 22,310 | 5,502 |
| TOTALS: | 721,003 | 133,430 | 724,839 | 131,514 | 1,041,880 | 211,888 |

# SEPTEMBER

**1st** — The Taoiseach, Mr. Lynch announces that he plans to meet the British Prime Minister, Mr. Heath, while in Munich for the Olympic Games.

**2nd**—Miss Maria McGuire, a leading member of the Provisional I.R.A., denounces the bombing campaign in the North and the policies of Sean Mac Stiofain, Chief-of-Staff of the Provisional I.R.A., in a Sunday Observer article.

**3rd**—A statement from the Provisional I.R.A. rejects the allegations made by Miss Maria McGuire, claiming them as little more than a personal vendetta again Sean Mac Stiofain.

**4th**—Mr. Heath, the British Prime Minister, during a 1½ hour meeting with the Taoiseach, Mr. Lynch, in Munich, reportedly calls for action against the Provisional I.R.A. Following a meeting of the leadership of the Provisional I.R.A. in Dublin the organisation claims that the revelations of Miss Maria McGuire on Sunday had been inspired by the British Secret Service to undermine the confidence of the rank-and-file in the leadership.

**5th** — The Unionist Party publishes its policy document for the Whitelaw conference to be held later this month. The blueprint *Towards the Future* calls for the return of a Northern Ireland parliament, with a larger house of commons but no senate, and with all its former powers, including internal security.

**6th**—A middle-aged woman is killed in an explosion at the home of an ex-internee, James O'Kane, leader of the Republican Labour Party in the North. The Northern Ireland Labour Party publishes proposals which it will set out at the proposed all-party conference on the future of Northern Ireland later this month.

**7th**—Two men are shot dead and two others injured during serious clashes involving street fighting and gun battles between British Troops and Loyalists on the Shankill Road, Belfast. After a meeting of the Administrative Council of the Labour Party in Dublin it is announced that Dr. David Thornley has ceased to hold the position of chairman of the Party's Organisation Subcommittee. The Northern Ireland Allience Party announces its proposals for the all-party conference on the future of Northern Ireland, the third party to do so. The Alliance proposals include the establishment of a regional parliament or assembly to operate on a committee system but with no security powers.

**8th**—It is recommended in the Devlin Review on Higher remuneration in the Public Sector published today that salaries of Ministers, Dail and Senate members, the judiciary and higher civil servants be substantially raised. Of the seven Northern Ireland parties invited to submit proposals to the Whitelaw peace conference, only three have done so by today, officially the last day for sending in submissions.

**9th**—A riot breaks out among Borstal boys at Armagh Jail and is quelled by British troops.

**10th**—Two British soldiers are killed, and three others seriously injured when a land mine explodes under their Saracen armoured car travelling near Dungannon, Co. Tyrone.

**11th** — A delegation from the Social Democratic and Labour Party leaves Dublin for London to meet the British Prime Minister, Mr. Heath to ask for an end to internment in the North. The Ulster Vanguard Movement, the Ulster Defence Association and the Loyalist Association of Workers settle their differences and form a 'United Loyalist Front' headed by Mr. William Craig, M.P. The Provisional I.R.A. claim responsibility for the mine explosion in Co. Tyrone on Sunday night in which three British soldiers died.

**12th**—After two hours of talks at Chequers with the British Prime Minister, Mr. Heath and Mr. Whitelaw, representatives of the Social Democratic and Labour Party leave without any undertaking for an immediate ending of internment. The construction industry committee of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions, representing 55,000 workers threatens to wreck the National Wage Agreement if the Devlin Report, giving substantial salary increases to Ministers, T.D.s and top civil servants is implemented.

**13th**—Members of the Social Democratic and Labour Party, after a meeting with the British Opposition leader, Mr. Wilson, and two Shadow Ministers in London, claim that Mr. Wilson fully supports their position that internment must be ended at once. Two men are shot dead in Belfast pubs. The Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association claims that units of the British Army's Special Air Service are operating from two Belfast hospitals.

**14th**—One person is killed and 49 injured when a car-bomb explodes outside the Imperial Hotel in Cliftonville Road, Belfast. James Bryson, who escaped from the prison ship Maidstone earlier this year is captured in Belfast by British troops. The Ulster Democratic Unionist Party, led by the Rev. Ian Paisley, announces that it will not attend Mr. Whitelaw's round-table conference on the future of Northern Ireland.

**15th**—Mr. Basil McIvor, M.P., former Unionist Cabinet Minister, criticises the present party leadership and the right-wing elements within it. Another British soldier dies in the North from wounds received last month. Mr. William Whitelaw, Secretary of State for Northern Ireland presides over the first meeting of the reconstituted Northern Ireland Economic Council at Stormont Castle.

**16th**—One person is killed and 14 injured in riots in Larne, Co. Antrim, after members of the U.D.A. try to attack Catholic areas in the town. Mr. John Taylor, the former junior Minister at the Ministry of Home Affairs in Northern Ireland, calls for more firearms to be distributed among law-abiding citizens, both Protestant and Catholic, to assist in defeating the I.R.A. bombers.

**17th**—About three hundred people attend the first annual convention of Aontacht Eireann in Dublin. Mr. Kevin Boland is re-elected chairman of the party.

**18th**—A man is killed and two others injured when a car bomb explodes at Glassdrummond, near Forkhill, Co. Armagh. The Northern Ireland Office announces that the conference organised by Mr. Whitelaw on the future of Northern Ireland, is to take place in a hotel at Darlington, in Co. Durham, in Northern England. The Irish Republican Publicity Bureau claims in a statement that 11 prisoners at the Curragh Military Detention Camp have concluded the first week of a hunger strike in protest against the authorities' refusal to grant them political status.

**19th**—Mr. Brian Faulkner, the Unionist Party leader, announces his six-man team and advisers for Mr. Whitelaw's conference in Darlington, England, next week. Problems which have led to a hunger strike by 11 prisoners at the Curragh detention barracks move towards a solution following an inspection by the recently appointed visiting committee, which is led by Mr. Andy Mahon, the Chairman of Kildare County Council.

**20th**—The Social Democratic and Labour Party publishes its policy document on the future of Northern Ireland, *Towards a New Ireland*. The main proposals are: that the British and Irish Governments should have joint sovereignty over Northern Ireland, that Britain should declare herself in favour of eventual unity; that there should be a Northern Ireland assembly with greater powers than Stormont and that there should be a national senate. A man is shot dead and another seriously injured as troops and snipers exchange fire during shooting incidents in the Ardoyne area of Belfast. The Government decides to take a tougher line against hunger strikers.

**21st**—The British Cabinet decides to set up a tribunal, or special court, in Northern Ireto try those suspected of "terrorist activities" and those at present interned or detained, whose cases are referred to it by Mr. Whitelaw, the Northern Ireland Secretary of State. An Ulster Defence Regiment soldier and his wife are murdered by three armed men at their farmhouse home at Aghalane, close to the Border in Co. Fermanagh. Troops use CS gas as serious rioting follows a meeting in Dundalk to protest at the treatment of a local member of the Provisional I.R.A. on hunger strige in the Curragh. The Social Democratic and Labour Party policy on Northern Ireland, *Towards a New Ireland*, is received by the Irish Labour Party with caution.

**22nd**—All nine men who have been on hunger strike in the military detention centre at the Curragh call off their protest within hours of a warning that at least one of them was in danger of dying during the weekend. Two Garda stations at Castlebellington and Louth village in Co. Louth are attacked by petrol bombs. A British soldier is killed and another seriously wounded when an Army patrol comes under fire near the border, a short distance from Crossmaglen, Co. Armagh. Mr. David O'Connell, a leading member of the Provisional Republican Movement, is dismissed from his teaching post at Ballyshannon Vocational School by the Department of Education.

**23rd**—A woman dies in a Belfast hospital while visiting her son, a member of the R.U.C., who had been seriously injured in a shooting incident. Mr. John Taylor, M.P., appeals to loyalists to get into movements so that they will be trained and disciplined to take action" to maintain a free Ulster" should Westminster let them down in the coming months.

**24th**—The Minister for Justice, Mr. O'Malley, threatens "extremely unpleasant" measures on anyone found engaged in the kind of violence experienced in Dundalk last week.

**25th**—The Whitelaw conference on the future of Northern Ireland opens at Darlington, Co. Durham, with only three of the seven invited political groups attending. The Russell Court Hotel in Belfast, owned by C.I.E., is wrecked by an 400-500 lb. bomb. A Unionist Senator, Millar Cameron, resigns from the Unionist Party following a disagreement with the leadership.

**26th**—The Taoiseach, Mr. Lynch, announces that Dr. Patrick Hillery, Minister for Foreign Affairs, is to be proposed by the Government as a member of the Commission of European Communities upon Ireland's accession. A man is shot dead and another wounded in Belfast by a British Army plain clothes patrol.

**27th**—The conference on the political future of Northern Ireland, ends at Darlington, Co. Durham, with all three participating parties maintaining almost precisely the same positions they held before the three day talks began. A man is shot dead and the body of a 19-year-old man is found in Belfast. The hearing of the charges brought by the Irish Government against Britain concludes at the Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg.

**28th** — A three-man delegation from the Social Democratic and Labour Party meet members of the Government and Fine Gael to discuss their recent document on the future of the North *Towards a New Ireland*. A man, just released from prison on parole, is shot dead in East Belfast.

**29th**—A soldier and a civilian are shot dead during heavy gunfire in the Lower Falls area of Belfast. At Ballynure in Co. Antrim, a milk roundsman dies after being shot by raiders at a farmhouse. Mrs. Kathleen Clarke, widow of Tom Clarke, signatory of the 1916 Proclamation, dies in Liverpool. Mr. Thomas MacGiolla, the president of Sinn Fein (Gardiner Place) is deported from Scotland. R.T.E. journalists in Belfast stage a two-hour token walk-out in protest against Section 31 of the Irish Government's Broadcasting Act.

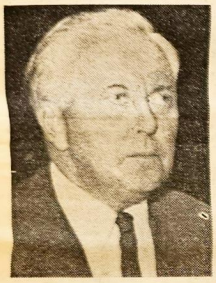
**30th**—Five people are shot dead in Belfast, including one British soldier. At a mass rally on the steps of Stormont Castle the Ulster Vanguard Leader, Mr. William Craig again threatens that Northern Loyalists might form an independent parliament if Stormont was not restored.

# OCTOBER

**1st** — The European Human Rights Commission admits five of the seven charges brought by the Irish Government against Britain to further investigation, including one which will determine whether the measures taken by the British Government under the Special Powers Act—among them internment—were strictly required by the situation.

**2nd** — A British soldier, disguised as a laundryman and engaged in intelligence work, is shot dead on the outskirts of Belfast.

A 50-year-old Catholic is assassinated in a club in the Falls Road area of Belfast. A division between the Social Democratic and Labour Party and the Irish Labour Party is openly acknowledged by Mr. Paddy Devlin, chief whip of the S.D.L.P., when he says that ,after the reception which Labour had given the document **Towards a New Ireland**, relations between the parties could never again be the same.



Harold Wilson, M.P.

**3rd** — Mr. Harold Wilson tells the British Labour Party Conference at Blackpool that there can be no solution to the Northern Ireland problem which does not provide for consideration of his proposals for consideration of the implications of a move to a united Ireland.

Thirty-three people are injured, one seriously, when a car-bomb explodes in Distillery Street, in the Catholic Grosvenor Road area of Belfast.

**4th** — The leader of the Ulster Vanguard Movement, Mr. William Craig, escapes unhurt when gunmen fire three shots at him as he is driving to work near Lisburn.

Following a parliamentary meeting of the Fine Gael Party it is decided to open discussions with the Labour Party on the subject of Coalition.

**5th** — The leader of Fine Gael, Mr. Liam Cosgrave, and the party's spokesman on Northern Affairs, Mr. Richie Ryan, travel to Belfast to meet political organisations for discussions on the Northern Ireland situation.

A man is killed, and 30 people injured, five seriously, when a car-bomb explodes without warning outside a pub in Belfast city centre.

**6th** — Gardai and Special Branch detectives enter the headquarters of Sinn Fein at 2A Lower Kevin Street, Dublin, and another premises at Blessington Street, Dublin, and declare them closed under Section 25 of the Offences Against the State Act.

A man is shot dead in the Lower Falls area of Belfast by British troops.

**7th** — A woman is killed in a car-bomb explosion in Belfast, and in Newtownstewart, Co. Tyrone, a 17-year-old partially deaf Protestant youth is shot dead by a patrol of the Ulster Defence Regiment.

**8th** — At a meeting in Derry to commemorate the October 5th march in 1968 speakers warn that the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association's campaign of street demonstrations and civil disobedience will continue and intensify.

Following a meeting of more than 200 delegates from nine different organisations, a Comhairle na Mumhan is established in Limerick. The meeting is addressed by Mr. Ruairi O Bradaigh, President of Sinn Fein (Kevin Street).

**9th** — The British Government decides to postpone until the spring of next year the proposed referendum on the Border.

Dr. Robert Simpson, who served as Minister of Community Relations in the former Stormont Government, resigns from the Unionist Party, the fourth ex-Cabinet Minister to do so.

Mr. David Rowlands, a former journalist with "The Irish Times," is appointed Director of the Northern Ireland Community Relations Commission.

**10th** — Three people are killed in an explosion which wrecks a derelict house in the Lower Falls area of Belfast.

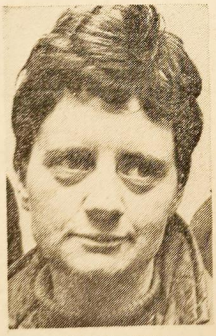
A sergeant in the Ulster Defence Regiment is shot dead in Newry while on his way to work.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Dr. Hillery, tells the General Assembly of the United Nations that the Northern crisis cannot be resolved in a purely Northern setting.

**11th** — The Parliamentary Labour Party decide to accept a Fine Gael invitation to hold talks on the possibility of Coalition.

A Belfast magistrate, Mr. William Staunton, is seriously wounded in a shooting incident in the Falls Road area of Belfast.

**12th** — Armed raiders rob a bank in Grafton Street, Dublin, and get away with £45,000. Miss Mairin de Burca, joint general secretary of Sinn Fein (Gardiner Place) is jailed for three months for contempt of court.



Mairin de Burca

A motorist is shot dead in Belfast city centre by British troops for failing to stop. The Administrative Council of the Labour Party, meeting at the party headquarters in Dublin, vote by a significant majority to support in principle the S.D.L.P. policy document **Towards a New Ireland.**

**13th** — Mr. Billy Hull, chairman of the Loyalist Association of Workers, tells Vanguard supporters in Bangor, Co. Down, that they are now taking the war into the Republic.

**14th** — Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien, making his first major speech on the North since the controversy between him and members of the S.D.L.P., says in Kinsale that the argument with the S.D.L.P. was not one of principle but of strategy.

**15th** — Rioting breaks out in Buncrana, Co. Donegal, following a meeting of Sinn Fein (Kevin Street).

**16th** — The Co. Derry command of the Ulster Defence Association claims responsibility for an explosion in a fertiliser plant in Carrigans, Co. Donegal.

A man is seriously injured in an explosion in Clones, Co. Monaghan.

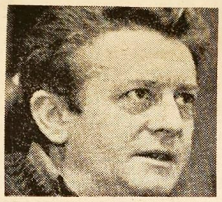
Two men are shot dead by British troops at a roadblock in Coagh, Co. Tyrone.

In Belfast, a man and a boy are run over and killed by British Army vehicles during rioting in Protestant areas of the city. Following the deaths the Ulster Defence Association says that it is breaking off all cooperation with the Army and the Whitelaw Administration.

**17th** — Serious clashes continue between troops and Protestant crowds on the Shankill Road and in East Belfast.

**18th** — After 48 hours of violence in the North between Protestants and British troops in which four people die, the Ulster Defence Association announces that its "war with the Army is over," after discussions with military and police chiefs.

**19th** — The Vanguard leader, Mr. William Craig, tells a meeting of the South-West Monday Club in London that there are 80,000 people in Northern Ireland ready to fight on the loyalist side. He also says that in the event of a civil war he and his supporters would be prepared to "shoot and kill."



Cathal Goulding

Mr. Cathal Goulding, Chief-of-Staff of the Official I.R.A., attends the funerals of the two I.R.A. men shot dead by British troops near Coagh, Co. Tyrone, early this week.

**20th** — The Ulster Loyalist Council, which embraces the Vanguard Movement, the Loyalist Association of Workers and the Ulster Defence Association, voices strong support for Mr. William Craig's London speech.

**21st** — An R.U.C. constable in Bangor, Co. Down, dies from injuries received in a shooting incident earlier in the week.

Mr. Louis Gardner, the Secretary General of the Ulster Vanguard Movement, resigns from the organisation.

**22nd** — A 22-year-old member of the Ulster Defence Regiment is killed and his father wounded in an ambush at Derrydoon, Co. Fermanagh.

A convention is held in Mullingar by Sinn Fein (Kevin Street) for the purpose of setting up a regional parliament for Leinster.

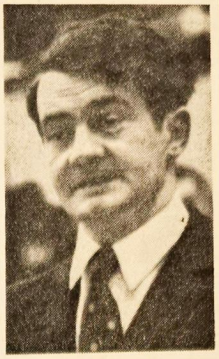
**23rd** — Fourteen members of the U.V.F. dressed in British Army uniforms steal a large quantity of arms from the Territorial Army and Ulster Defence Regiment depot at Lurgan, Co. Armagh.

**24th** — A Co. Fermanagh farmer, a member of the local Civil Rights Association, and his part-time employee are found dead from stab wounds at a farm near the Cavan-Fermanagh border.

The Minister for Justice, Mr. O'Malley, speaking in New York, appeals to Irish-Americans not to give money to the Irish Northern Aid Committee because much of it is used to buy arms for the Provisional I.R.A. campaign in Northern Ireland.

**25th** — The Government decides to hold a referendum on Article 44 of the Constitution (which deals with the special role of the Catholic Church) on December 7th.

**26th** — The Taoiseach, Mr. Lynch, moves the first stage of



Des O'Malley, T.D.

the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution Bill, 1972, which makes provision for the holding of the Referendum in connection with Article 44 of the Constitution.

**27th** — The Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, Mr. William Whitelaw, announces in London that he has decided to postpone the Local Government elections in Northern Ireland until the spring and that they would take place after the referendum on the Border had been held.

The Cabinet decides to defer all the salary and pay increases recommended recently in the controversial Devlin Review Body Report.

A member of the Ulster Volunteer Force escaped from Belfast Prison, the second member of the U.V.F. to escape from the jail this month.

**28th** — 800 delegates attend the opening of the Sinn Fein (Kevin Street) ard-fheis in Liberty Hall, Dublin.

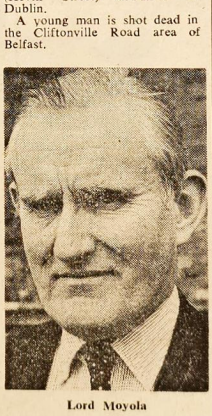
A 12 lb. bomb is found in Connolly Station at Amiens Street, Dublin, and rooms in four city hotels are damaged by fire-bombs.

A British soldier is shot dead in Derry.

**29th** — Seven men, four of them from the North, escape from the military detention centre at the Curragh by tunnelling from their cells.

The Chief-of-Staff of the Provisional I.R.A., Mr. Sean Mac Stiofain, attends the Sinn Fein (Kevin Street) ard-fheis in Dublin.

A young man is shot dead in the Cliftonville Road area of Belfast.



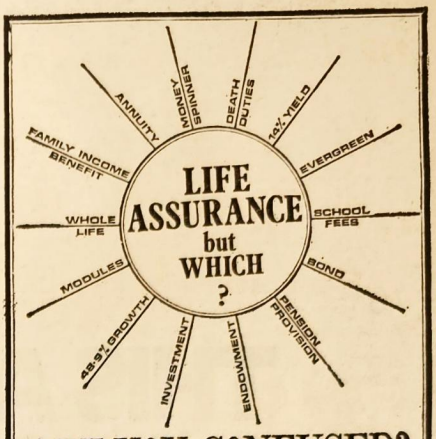
Lord Moyola

**30th** — The British Government publishes its Green Paper "document for discussion" on the future of Northern Ireland.

Lord Moyola, formerly Major James Chichester-Clark, Premier of Northern Ireland from May 1969 to March 1971, announces that he is not to contest his South Derry seat in any future election.

**31st** — Two young girls are killed and 10 people injured in an explosion which wrecks a Belfast public house. Also in Belfast a soldier and a 17-year-old youth are shot dead in separate shooting incidents.

It is announced that 272 men are still being held in Long Kesh internment camp. Of these 167 are internees and the rest detainees.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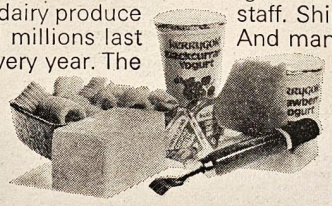

AN BORD BAINNE

# NOVEMBER

**1st**—The British Government publishes its Bill providing for the holding of a plebiscite on the question of the border in Northern Ireland. The voters in the North are to be asked two questions: 1) Do you want Northern Ireland to remain part of the United Kingdom? 2) Do you want Northern Ireland to be joined with the Republic of Ireland, outside the United Kingdom? The Ulster Defence Association claim responsibility for the blowing up of a pub at St. Johnston, Co. Donegal.

**2nd**—The Catholic Ex-Servicemen's Association in the North calls for the setting up of a Catholic Defence Corps in Catholic areas, with the same status as the militant Protestant Ulster Defence Association. A pub owned by Mr. Charles McAleer, a relative of Mr. Des O'Malley, Minister for Justice in the Republic, is blown up at Campsie, near Omagh, Co. Tyrone. The Northern Ireland (Finance Provisions) Bill is published in Westminster, increasing grants to the North by £150m.

**3rd**—The Taoiseach, Mr. Lynch, declares his agreement with the British Government aims, as stated in the Green Paper, to bring a stable peace in the North. Mr. Desmond Governey (F.G., Carlow-Kilkenny) is appointed to succeed the late Surgeon Patrick Hogan on the Committee of Public Accounts. Four Unions: the Post Office Officials' Association, the Irish Electrical Technicians Association, the Psychiatric Nurses' Association and the National Busmen's Union form themselves into the Irish Federation of Trade Unions.

**4th**—In a major British Government reshuffle Mr. David Howell is appointed Minister of State in the Northern Ireland office in place of Mr. Paul Channon, and Mr. William van Straubenzee is appointed a third Minister of State. Gusty Spence, a leading members of the illegal Ulster Volunteer Force, who escaped while on parole in July of this year, is recaptured in Belfast by British troops.

**5th**—Mrs. Maire Drumm, vice-President of Sinn Fein (Kevin Street) is arrested and charged under the Offences Against the State Act at Mullingar.

**6th**—Three Commissioners are appointed by the Northern Ireland Secretary, Mr. Whitelaw, to carry out the functions specified in the Detention of Terrorists (Northern Ireland) Order, 1972.

**7th**—A bomb damages the town hall at Claremorris, Co. Mayo, but Gardai sources discount claims that the U.V.F. is responsible. It is announced in London that the British Prime Minister, Mr. Heath, is to visit Northern Ireland for a two-day visit next week.

**8th**—An Officer in the Ulster Defence Regiment is shot dead during an ambush near Lurgan, Co. Armagh.

**9th**—For the first time in several weeks a daylight bomb explodes in Belfast's city centre. The Irish Congress of Trade Unions calls for the setting up of a conference of all the political parties in the Republic and Northern Ireland to contain violence and terrorism and to prevent what it calls the "imminent peril of civil war in Northern Ireland."

**10th**—A soldier is shot dead in Belfast, and in a gunbattle in the Lower Falls area of the city, the British Army claim to have hit three gunmen. Two internees are released from Long Kesh following the first sitting of the threeman commission set up recently to investigate the cases of men held without trial for suspected "terrorism."

**11th**—A Catholic newsagent is shot dead in his shop in the Crumlin Road, Belfast. A Unionist Party pamphlet, analysing the British Government's Green Paper on the future of Northern Ireland, concludes that while it is short-sighted to reject it entirely, is is dangerous and misleading to read limited objectives into it.

**12th**—The Association for Legal Justice, urges that the Republic should abrogate the Extradition Treaty signed with the United Kingdom in 1965, until satisfied that the rights of the subjects in international law are respected and safeguarded in the U.K.

**13th**—The Shadow Northern Ireland Secretary, Mr. Merlyn Rees, says in the House of Commons at Westminster that discussions should be started at once with the Dublin Government on the form and power of an all-Ireland council.

**14th**—Noel Jenkinson, a native of Oldcastle, Co. Meath, is sent to prison for life at Winchester Court for his part in the Aldershot bomb explosion last February. All prisoners in Portlaoise Jail are back in their cells after two protests within 12 hours of each other, for better conditions.

**15th**—Mr. David Howell, a Minister of State for Northern Ireland, announces in the Westminster House of Commons that the British Government are seeking the extradition of 11 men from the Republic for political crimes in the North. A 28-year-old Catholic living in a Protestant area of Belfast is shot dead. The European Communities Bill passes all stages in the Dail.

**16th**—The British Prime Minister, Mr. Heath, on his first stage of his two-day visit to the North warns that the British Government will not tolerate any move by the North towards independence or a "go it alone policy." A reserve policemen is killed when a booby-trap bomb explodes in his car in Enniskillen, Co. Fermanagh.

**17th**—At a press conference before leaving the North following his two-day visit, the British Prime Minister, Mr. Heath, says that the British Government and Parliament alone will be the deciders, after consultation, of any future political structures in the North.

**18th**—A garda cordon prevents a People's Democracy group from picketing the home of a member of the Special Criminal Court in Dublin, following a Government Order under the Offences Against the State Act prohibiting the picketing of judges' homes.

**19th**—The Derry Command of the Ulster Defence Association claim responsibility for an explosion which wrecks a car showrooms in Bridgend, Co. Donegal.

Mr. Sean Mac Stiofain, the Provisional Republican leader, is arrested by Special Branch officers in Dublin and held under section 30 of the Offences Against the State Act.

**20th**—Two British soldiers are killed in a booby-trap explosion at a disused farmhouse near Crossmaglen, Co. Armagh.

**21st**—Following his detention for 48 hours, the Provisional Republican leader, Mr. Sean Mac Stiofain, is charged with being a member of an unlawful organisation, under section 21 of the Offences Against the State Act, 1939.

The Government sends a letter containing an ultimatum to the R.T.E. Authority, declaring that the report of an interview with Sean Mac Stiofain broadcast last Sunday, was in its judgment, a breach of a direction made under section 31 of the Broadcasting Authority Act, 1960.

**22nd**—The Minister for Justice, Mr. O'Malley introduces into the Dail the Offences Against the State (Amendment) Bill, which will facilitate court action against people suspected of being members of the I.R.A.

It is announced that Mr. Mac Stiofain is on hunger and thirst strike in Mountjoy prison.

Two men, a Catholic labourer and a Protestant member of the Ulster Defenove Regiment, are shot dead within hours of each other in the Castledawson area of South Derry.

**23rd**—The Oxford Union pass overwhelmingly a motion, proposed by the Taoiseach, Mr. Lynch, "That this House would favour Irish unity."

**24th**—The Government dismisses the R.T.E. Authority over the Sean Mac Stiofain interview and appoints a new seven-member group to take its place under the chairmanship of Mr. James A. Scannell.

In the Special Criminal Court, Dublin, the State opens its case against Sean Mac Stiofain, who is charged on two counts of being a member of an unlawful organisation, the I.R.A.

The Taoiseach, Mr. Lynch, meeting in London with the British Prime Minister, Mr. Heath, says that they are agreed on the main principles of the "Green Paper" on Northern Ireland.

**25th**—Sean Mac Stiofain is sentenced in the Special Criminal Court to six months imprisonment for being a member of the I.R.A.

Kevin O'Kelly, the R.T.E. news features editor, is also sentenced to three months for contempt of court, after he refuses to identify the man he interviewed last weekend as Sean Mac Stiofain.

The Social Democratic and Labour Party annual conference at Dungiven, Co. Derry, overwhelmingly votes for the party to enter into immediate discussion with all interested parties in the North, including the Secretary of State, Mr. William Whitelaw.

**26th**—25 people are injured after a bomb explodes without warning outside a crowded cinema in Burgh Quay, Dublin, in the early hours of the morning.

An armed attempt is made to free Sean Mac Stiofain from the Mater Hospital, Dublin.

700 people march from a rally at the G.P.O. to the Mater Hospital, to protest at the imprisonment of Mr. Sean Mac Stiofain.

Workers in R.T.E. go on strike in support of Kevin O'Kelly, who is jailed for three months by the Special Criminal Court.

**27th**—Sean Mac Stiofain, in the ninth day of his hunger and thirst strike, is removed from the Mater Hospital and flown by Army helicopter to the Military Hospital in the Curragh Camp, Co. Kildare.

The text of the Offences Against the State (Amendment) Bill is published. It allows a Garda officer not below the rank of chief superintendent to indict an accused person if he believes that the person is a member of an illegal organisation.

**28th**—Mr. Sean Mac Stiofain ends his ten-day hunger and thirst strike. In the Dail, the Taoiseach, Mr. Lynch, says, that there is absolutely no possibility of Mr. Mac Stiofain being released on health and humanitarian grounds.

In the North, five people are killed, including a policeman and two British soldiers during a wave of bomb and rocket attacks.

**29th**—Journalists on national newspapers in the Republic go on strike for 24 hours in support of Kevin O'Kelly.

A man is shot dead in a shooting incident on the Crumlin Road, Belfast.

Sixty-eight members of Sinn Fein (Gardiner Place) appear in the Dublin District Court, arising out of the placing of pickets on the homes of T.Ds and Government Ministers.

**30th**—The condition of Sean Mac Stiofain at the Curragh Military Hospital is said to have improved slightly according to his solicitor, Mr. Myles Shevlin.

Two more men are released from Long Kesh internment camp on the recommendation of the three commissioners inquiring into the cases of internees and detainees.

The Dail debate on the Offences Against the State (Amendment) Bill adjourns to speculation of a Government defeat and a general election before Christmas.

# Dail Details

**LEINSTER HOUSE**
**KILDARE STREET,**
**DUBLIN 2.**
**Tel. 61141.**

**Clerk of the Dail:** P. O'Connell. **Clerk - Assistant:** M. J. Healy.

**Clerk of the Seanad:** S. MacGabhann. (Also **Examiner of Private Bills** and **Seanad Returning Officer**). **Clerk-Assistant:** A. Doyle.

**Superintendent, House of the Oireachtas:** Ceannphort S. P. O Laoghaire.

**Captain of the Guard:** Ceannphort M. MacGiollabhuidhe.

**Principal Clerks:** L. R. Browne, Sean Dalton, S. R. Tobin, M. G. Kilroy, E. S. Rayel.

**Senior Clerks:** F. Geoghegan (**Private Secretary to the Ceann Comhairle**), S. G. O Cillin, M. McMahon, C. O Briain, S. O Faolain, M. E. Murray.

**Private Secretary to the Clerk of the Dail:** T. Dwane.

**Editor of Debates and Chief Reporter.** E. O. Faolain. **Assistant:** E. P. Symes, H. J. Lawler.

**Chief Translator:** S. O Cathasaigh. **Deputy:** S. O Liung. **Senior Translator:** E. O. Laighlin, Sean B. MacCnamhsi, M. G. Cuinneagán.

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**Minister for Industry and Commerce:** Mr. Patrick Lalor.
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**Minister for Foreign Affairs:** Mr. Brian Lenihan.
**Minister for Defence:** Mr. Jeremiah Cronin.
**Minister for Posts and Telegraphs:** Mr. Gerry Collins.
**Minister for Labour and Social Welfare:** Mr. Joseph Brennan.
**Minister for Justice:** Mr. Desmond O'Malley.
**Minister for Education:** Mr. Padraig Faulkner.
**Minister for Transport and Power:** Mr. Michael O'Kennedy.
**Minister for Lands:** Mr. Sean Flanagan.
**Parliamentary Secretary to the Taoiseach and the Minister for Defence:** Mr. David Andrews.
**Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for Local Government:** Mr. Liam Cunningham.
**Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for the Gaeltacht:** Mr. Michael Kitt.
**Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for Agriculture and Fisheries:** Mr. Jack Fahey.
**Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for Education:** Mr. Jim Tunney.
**Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for Social Welfare:** Mr. John Mc Geoghegan.
**Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for Finance:** Mr. Noel Lemass.
**Secretary to the Government:** Donal O Suilleabhain.
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**Finance:** Garret FitzGerald, T.D.
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**Labour:** Peter Barry, T.D.
**Chief Whip:** Geoffrey Timmons, T.D.
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**Local Government:** Sean Tracy, T.D.
**Labour:** Dr. John O'Donovan, T.D.
**Agriculture:** Michael Pat Murphy, T.D.
**Industry and Commerce:** Justin Keating, T.D.
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**Defence:** Stephen Coughlan, T.D.
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**Education:** Michael O'Leary, T.D.
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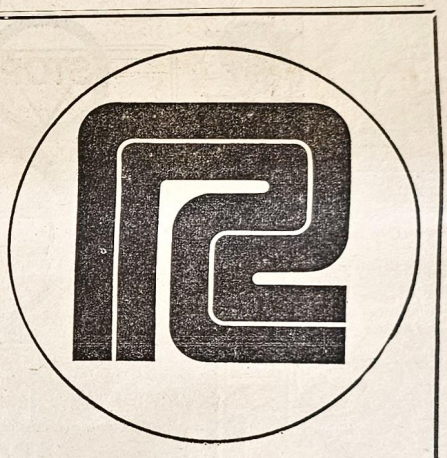
**Health:** Dr. John O'Connell, T.D.
**Posts and Telegraphs:** David Thornley, T.D.
**Chief Whip:** Frank Cluskey, T.D.
**Leader in Senate:** Jack Fitzgerald.
**Senate Whip:** Evelyn Owens.

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# DECEMBER

**1st**—Two bomb explosions in Dublin city centre, one outside Liberty Hall, the other in Marlborough Street, kill two men and injure 127 other people.

In the Dail, Fine Gael withdraws its opposition to the Offences Against the State (Amendment) Bill, when it hears of the explosions. The Bill passes its second stage in the Dail by 70 votes to 23.

**2nd**—The Ulster Defence Association deny responsibility for the Dublin bomb blast and blame the Provisional I.R.A.

A Belfast housewife is shot dead through her kitchen window, and the brutally tortured body of a young Catholic man is found in the Templemore Avenue area of east Belfast.

**3rd**—The Senate passes all stages of the Offences Against the State (Amendment) Bill 1972, and it is signed by the President, making it law.

The Labour Party Administrative Council takes a majority decision to ask Mr. Paddy McAuliffe, one of the new members of the R.T.E. Authority, to resign from the Labour Party or the Authority.

**4th**—A man is shot dead by British Troops in Belfast.

The Ulster Volunteer Force denies responsibility for the Dublin bomb blast.

The condition of Sean Mac Stiofain detained in the Curragh Military Hospital and on the 17th day of his hunger strike is said to be satisfactory.

**5th**—In Belfast, two workmen are shot dead by British Troops in mistake for gunmen. A member of the Ulster Defence Regiment is shot dead in front of his family in Killeter, Co. Tyrone and in Lurgan a British Soldier is killed in an explosion.

**6th**—Mr. William Whitelaw announces the setting up of a special task force, composed of members of the Royal Ulster Constabulary and military section of the British Army, to deal with sectarian murders now totalled at 106 since January this year.

**7th**—850,000 voters—or about 50% of the electorate-turn out to vote in the referenda on the two issues of the special position of the Catholic Church and the reduction of the Dail voting age to 18.

A leading member of the Ulster Defence Association, Mr. Ernie Elliott is found shot dead in Belfast.

**8th**—The result of the referenda show's that only 50.7% of the electorate voted, but those who did approved by a majority of more than five-to-one in favour of deletion of two sub-sections in Article 44 of the Constitution, and lowering of the voting age to 18. The results were as follows: Article 44: For 721,003. Against 133,430. Votes at 18: For 724,839. Against 131,514. **For detailed results see P.23.**

A man and a British Soldier are shot dead in Belfast and at Glenravel, near Ballymena, Co. Antrim, a Catholic Church is destroyed by a bomb blast.

**9th**—Stringent security precautions are taken as about 100 special category "political" prisoners are moved from Crumlin Road Jail in Belfast to Long Kesh Internment Camp.

**10th**—A British Army sergeant is killed and another soldier seriously injured, when part of a rocket explodes at an Army post in the Turf Lodge Area of Belfast.

**11th**—The Standing Committee of the Unionist Party refuse to vote on a motion proposed by Mr. Basil Melvor and Mr. Stratton Mills to the effect that membership of the Ulster Vanguard Movement is incompatible with membership of the Unionist Party.

Mr. Paudge Brennan, T.D., a former Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Local Government, and Mr. Des Foley, T.D., are both expelled from the Fianna Fail Party at a specially convened meeting of the party's national executive.

Sean Mac Stiofáin

**12th**—The six M.P's. of the Social Democratic and Labour Party meet the Northern Ireland Secretary of State, Mr. William Whitelaw, to discuss the British Government's forthcoming White Paper on the future of the North.

Several thousand uniformed members of the Ulster Defence Association march in military formation to the centre of Belfast behind the funeral cortege of their lieutenant-colonel Ernest 'Duke' Elliott, who was murdered earlier in the week. In another part of Belfast an off-duty member of the R.U.C. is shot dead.

**13th**—Mr. Liam Cosgrave is reaffirmed leader of Fine Gael after a two-hour meeting of the party at Leinster House.

President De Valera puts his signature to the documents that formally completes Ireland's progress to membership of the European Communities.

The Rev. Martin Smyth, a deputy leader of the Vanguard Movement and a leading member of the Unionist Party is elected Grand Master of the Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland.

**14th**—The Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, Mr. Whitelaw, announces in the House of Commons at Westminster that the Border plebiscite in the North will be held on March 8th, 1973.

A 19-year-old girl is killed and several other people injured, some seriously, when a car-bomb explodes without warning outside a Catholic-owned public house in the village of Killeter, five miles from the Border, in Co. Tyrone.

The Dail adjourns for the Christmas recess until February 7th, 1973.

**15th**—Mr. Michael O'Kennedy, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for Education is appointed a Minister in the Government, without portfolio.

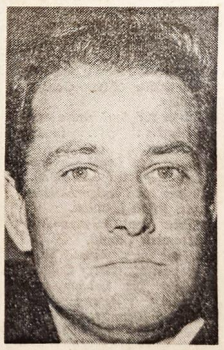
The Taoiseach announces the names of the delegates to the Assembly of the European Committee. They are: Deputy Conor Cruise O'Brien (Labour); Sir Anthony Esmonde (F.G.); Michael Herbert (F.F.), Michael Hilliard (F.F.); Justin Keating (Labour); Thomas Nolan (F.F.); and Richie Ryan (F.G.). Senators Charles MacDonald, Fergal McElgunn and Michael Yeats, Cathaoirleach of the Seanad.

**16th**—The Sinn Fein (Gardiner Place) Ard-Fheis opens at the Mansion House in Dublin.

In the North, a Catholic butcher is found shot dead at his shop at Derrylin, Co. Fermanagh, and in Belfast a second shopkeeper is found shot dead in his off-licence in York Road.

**17th**—About 500 people, including a number from Northern Ireland, attend the inaugural meeting of the Irish Civil Rights Association held in the Town and Country Ballroom at Parnell Square, Dublin.

**18th**—A member of the Northern Ireland Police Authority, and a leading Unionist councillor in Armagh, Mr. William Johnston, is found shot dead in his car near the Co. Armagh border.



Stratton Mills

Mr. Stratton Mills, the Unionist M.P. at Westminster for North Belfast, announces his resignation from the party because it has failed to dissociate itself from the Ulster Vanguard Movement.

**19th**—Senator Michael Cranitch is nominated by Fianna Fail as a candidate for the post of Cathaoirleach of the Senate.

The four men accused of attempting to rescue Sean Mac Stiofain from the Mater Hospital in Dublin last month are jailed for seven years by the Special Criminal Court.

**20th**—Five men are killed and four others wounded when two masked men burst into a public-house in the Waterside area of Derry and fire into a crowd of customers with automatic weapons. It is thought that the shooting may be a reprisal for the murder of a U.D.R. man, Private George Ellis Hamilton, who was shot dead earlier in the day at a reservoir just outside the city.

A detective-garda and a man believed to be a British MI5 agent are arrested in Dublin under the Official Secrets Act.

The Diplock Commission on "Security Arrangements" in Northern Ireland is published today.

**21st**—A 25-year-old Catholic textile worker is shot dead in Bangor, Co. Down.

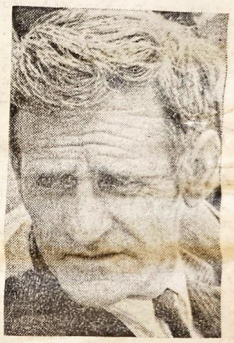
In Dublin, a detective-garda and a British agent are remanded in custody until after Christmas on charges under the Official Secrets Act.

**22nd**—The Provisional I.R.A. in Northern Ireland announce a three-day truce over the Christmas period.

**25th**—Eleven members of the Peoples' Democracy take part in a march to the Curragh Camp to protest against the imprisonment of republicans there.

**26th**—The Christmas truce in the North is ended with shooting incidents in Belfast, and two bomb explosions in Newry.

**27th**—One man is shot dead, and a second wounded, when British troops open fire on them in Strabane, Co. Tyrone.



Paudge Brennan

In the High Court, Dublin, Mr. Justice Griffin refuses to grant bail to John Wyman, who is charged along with a detective-garda under the Official Secrets Act.

**28th**—A boy and a girl, aged 16 and 15, are killed and nine other people injured, some seriously, when a car-bomb explodes without warning in Belturbet, Co. Cavan. Two other bomb explosions occur, in Clones, Co. Monaghan, and in Pettigo, Co. Donegal.

**29th**—Ruairi O Bradaigh, president of Sinn Fein (Kevin Street) is arrested under the Offences Against the State Act in Dublin.

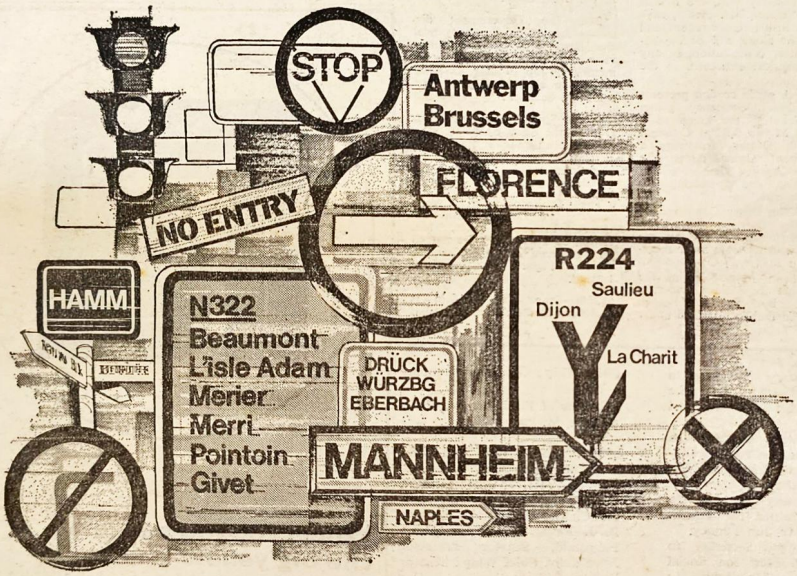
A gang of armed men abduct a Long Kesh detainee, James Brown, from a Lisburn hospital. British troops shoot dead a man whom they claim was about to open fire at them near the Border on the outskirts of Derry.

Both wings of the I.R.A. and the Ulster Defence Association deny responsibility for the bomb explosions at Belturbet, Co. Cavan.

**30th**—The president of Sinn Fein (Kevin Street), Ruairi O Bradaigh, is charged with being a member of the I.R.A. when he appears before the Special Criminal Court in Dublin.

**31st**—At midnight Ireland becomes a member of the European Community, along with Britain and Denmark.

Martin McGuinness, a leading member of the Provisional I.R.A. in Derry, is arested near Ballybofey, Co. Donegal, under Section 30 of the Offences against the State Act.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## BOOKNEWS
### Andrew Pollak

AS is usual at this time of year, the last few weeks have seen every British and Irish publication with any claim to literary pretensions choosing, for the benefit of the newspaper-suffering public, its Books of the Year. Writers from and books on this island have figured larger than usual in the lists. Conor Cruise O'Brien's *States of Ireland* (Hutchinson) and Robert Kee's *The Green Flag* (Weidenfeld and Nicholson) were highly praised; Lady Longford's *Wellington: Pillar of State* (Weidenfeld and Nicholson) got honourable mentions; Brian Moore's *Catholics* (Jonathan Cape), Aidan Higgins' *Balcony of Europe* (Calder and Boyars) and Jennifer Johnston's *The Captains and the Kings* (Hamish Hamilton) were among the few novels noticed; and Stephen Spender headed his list with Seamus Heaney's most recent book of poems, *Wintering Out* (Faber).

* * *

1973 SHOULD see a few more handsome contributions, judging by the publishers' lists I have received so far. Two of our regular columnists, John Broderick and John Banville, have new novels out later this month. We will be featuring an extract from Broderick's *Apology for Roses* (Calder and Boyars, £2.50) in our next issue, together with a review by Benedict Kiely, and an extract from Banville's *Birchwood* (Secker and Warburg, £2.10) on February 2nd. Benedict Kiely is, in fact, yet another novelist with something in the offing—his new collection of bawdy, boozy tales, *A Ball of Malt and Madame Butterfly*, will be published by Gollancz in June.

**John Banville**

Flann O'Brien's only novel in Irish, *An Beal Bocht*, translated by Patrick Power as *The Poor Mouth*, and with drawings by that master draughtsman of the bizarre and outlandish, Ralph Steadman, is being brought out by Hart-Davis in May, as well as a collection of his *Stories and Plays*. Terence de Vere White's new novel, *The Distance and the Dark* (Gollancz), is another one to look out for in May.

On the non-fiction front, Brian Inglis's long-awaited biography of *Roger Casement* (Hodder and Stoughton) is due early in the spring, as is Beatrice Behan's *My Life With Brendan* (Leslie Frewin). Lastly, a book to look forward to later in the year is Claud Cockburn's *The Devil's Decade* (Sidgwick and Jackson), an account of the 1930s, Lenin's "period of war and revolutions," from the pen of its most brilliant and outspoken reporter.

* * *

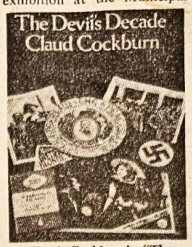
BACK IN Dublin, The Gallery Press (formerly Tara Telephone) is bringing out three new collections of poetry in both paper and clothbound editions, all at 40p and £1.25p, respectively. They are *Acts and Monuments* by Eiléan Ní Chuilleanáin, *Early Morning Matins* by Macdara Woods and *Watching the Morning Grow* by Pearse Hutchinson. Also due out is a book of lovesongs by Peter Fallon called *Co-incidence of Flesh*.

* * *

A FEW of the many booklets and magazines that have landed on my desk in the last few weeks: Sinn Fein (Gardiner Place) have published a pamphlet by an American, Leonard Brenner, *United States, Britain, Ireland—A Special, Special Relationship*. This brief introduction only serves to highlight the glaring need for a truly comprehensive analysis of the all-important and up to now almost totally unquestioned role of American capitalism in Irish economic and political affairs.

At a time when individual rights are starting to be sacrificed in the interests of "national security" and Government expediency, it is cheering to know that an organisation like the Irish Association of Civil Liberty does exist, even if it is only to inform us of those rights that are being taken away. Their booklet, *Your Rights as an Irish Citizen*, covering freedom of expression, association and assembly, trade union rights, arrest, political offences, rights of the householder and a dozen other categories is compulsory reading for anyone concerned with civil rights and law enforcement, which is everyone.

THE MOST recent issue of *Structure* contains an introduction to and programme of the Independent Artists' exhibition at the Municipal




**Claud Cockburn's "The Devil's Decade"**

Gallery, plus a historical and statistical analysis of Irish urban growth and its effect on our literature, under the title "The Silent Cities." The Autumn issue of *The Dublin Magazine*, which I have only just received, includes stories by Francis Harvey, Pat Walsh and Bruce Amaro, Clifford Stevens on Thomas Merton, John Garvin on Festy King in Finnegans Wake, plus articles on Swift and O'Flaherty. The latest *Honest Ulsterman*, still the best literary magazine of them all, features poems by Paul Muldoon and Michael Longley among others, Frank Ormsby's "Write-an-Ulster-Play-Kit," and Jude the Obscure's provocatively readable business section.

*Soundings*, a new annual poetry magazine cum anthology, edited by Seamus Heaney, and with contributions from all the better-known Irish poets, is something of a breakthrough. It is the first venture of its kind to be born from the co-operation of the Arts Council in Belfast and An Comhairle Ealaion in Dublin, and is published by the newly-founded Belfast publishing house, The Blackstaff Press. All the names are here—Kinsella, Hewitt, Montague, Mahon, Simmons, Murphy, Heaney and Co. — as well as many younger poets—and at £1.00 it should be a very good buy.

* * *

LASTLY, the *Hibernia* gremlins ask me to forward their apologies for a couple of unforced errors in our Christmas book pages. The reviewer of the books on "Church and War in Munster" was, of course, Maurice Hennessey. The publishers also point out that the editor of *Alexander Pope*, reviewed by Sean Breslin, was Peter Dixon, and not G. S. Rousseau, who was one of the contributors; and that it is the volume on *John Dryden*, which costs £5.00, and that on *Alexander Pope*, which is £5.25.

# Ice Breaking Man

## Hayden Murphy

**THE DRAGON. By Yevgeny Zamyatin. Translated by Mirra Ginsbury. Gollancz. £2.50.**

**BOGIES (two stories). By Rosalind Belben. Hutchinson. £2.25.**

**PLAY THINGS. By Peter Prince. Gollancz. £1.60.**

YEVGENY ZAMYATIN (1884-1937) was born in Russia where most of his writing, with the exception of his impressive novel *"We,"* first appeared, was denounced by among others Trotsky and after an appeal to Stalin and with the possible help of Gorki he was allowed to emmigrate to France where he died. During the First World War he spent two years in England designing and supervising the building of ice-breakers for Russia. I am unaware if he succeeded, but for the literary world he did design and build a brave new style—the combination of the rural storyteller and the questioning creator of parables is most evident in such tales as "A Provincial Tale" and "The Dragon." In these and, indeed, in the other thirteen stories in this collection he has succeeded in obliterating the dour complexion of post-revolutionary Russia. There is also a dignity in his "Letter to Stalin" which is a welcome relief from the histrionic and melodramatic whining of some more recent emigres.

"Dear Yosif Vissarionovich,

The author of the present letter, condemned to the highest penalty (silence), appeals to you with the request for the substitution of this penalty by another (exile)."

The two stories in *Bogies* are an impressive introduction to Rosalind Belben. She is yet another find by those courageous publishers, Hutchinson, who since starting the New Authors imprint in 1957 have produced over sixty new authors including such now well known names as Stanley Middleton, Julian Mitchell and Maureen Duffy. In the second of Miss Belben's stories "Flight" she tells of the pain of the silent aging and the escalating dying of Thomassina Dark. "She is a Miss," her dog is large and is called Ham, her teenage neighbour is a burgler, her relations are distant and she is afraid of the dark. Including herself. This is superbly directed and even if at times it tends towards over-description it is well worth reading.

After finishing *Play Things* one is left wondering, yet again, whether adults are merely play things for kids to entertain the adolescents into believing that it is they who are the real adults. The central character is a reluctant playleader, a refugee from society and the tedium of writing his first novel, there is a touch of bovver, his wife runs away with a lesbian (who, of course, underneath her leather exterior is a softie for swings and play things). There is violence, interfering dirty old men and believe it or not there is much humour. It will be a best seller in paperback but I flinch at the thought of the cover.

## NEW NOVELS
### John Broderick

IN IRISH HISTORY there are many events which changed the spirit of the nation. The coming of Christianity, the English invasion, the Reformation, the flight of the earls, the penal laws, the act of Union, 1916. But the most significant event in our long and troubled annals was the Famine. It is the real great watershed. Before it we were one kind of people; and after it we were entirely different. For one thing it seemed to me that the Irish attitude to religion changed during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Certainly the English government's handling of this awful national catastrophe was enough to breed hatred in the most gentle heart; but the British did not cause the potato to fester. It was what is known as an act of God; and the blame must be laid on Him and Him alone. In some obscure corner of their consciousness the Irish must have felt this; for ever since then we have regarded the Church as a sort of world-wide benevolent association. A useful contact; a way of life; a means of furthering worldly aims: but never as an agent of a providence which can be entirely trusted. It is not surprising that it should be so regarded; or that the true religious spirit should be so rare in this country. When this is faced, much that is mysterious in our history becomes very clear indeed. A nation of church-goers, we are essentially the most godless people in Europe. To join with an Irish congregation in the celebration of Mass is a truly fearful experience. One might as well be in a factory making shirts: the mechanical aspect of it all is so blatant that the proceedings often strike me as downright blasphemous. The beginning of a religious sense in this country consists in the realisation that we take a fiendish delight in mocking God.

Naturally none of this is apparent in Miss Elizabeth Byrd's novel about the Famine, **The Famished Land***. If she had indicated the seeds of it, she would have written a great book. As it is she has produced a very readable and workmanlike one, with several passages of great power and cruel beauty.

We are told on the blurb that she was born in the United States, and now lives in Scotland. It is to be presumed that she has no Irish blood; and if this is the case she has produced a considerable tour-de-force. I must confess that I have no ear for dialect; and I cannot tell if her characters speak as Irish peasants would in the middle of the last century. I have a feeling that the rhythm is not **quite** right; but it is certainly every bit as good as that produced by many native-born Irish writers.

The story is set in a small village in Mayo, and it is very well told. Miss Byrd is clearly a thoroughly professional novelist, which is a mercy in these days of the do-it-yourself school. She tells a well-planned and neatly constructed story; and a great deal of the awful, inhuman hardship of the time comes through in this book. She is obviously a woman of warm and generous temperament; and she loves Ireland and the Irish. Perhaps she loves not wisely but too well, which in the circumstances is very understandable. The courage with which our ancestors faced those terrible years is beyond praise: it was afterwards that the rotting of the soul set in.

Her heroine, Moira McFlaherty, is splendid; but a little too nice. Almost as if she had strayed into this story from a cosier setting. The man she loves, Liam Lenihan, is a much more interesting character. Moira is heroic, as women tend to be when faced with dire calamity; but one feels that it is entirely the result of circumstances: she is not by nature a really big character. But Liam, with his roving eye, his passion for the land surpassing his love of women, is truly Irish. And their love-story is a little too neatly contrived in the interests of a happy ending.

There are several horrifying scenes, which Miss Byrd describes with great power and restraint. The eating of the rats, the killing and eating of the dogs, and the frightfully effective indication in passing of cannibalism. Jesus Finnegan and his sister Eileen are wonderfully drawn characters; and so is the loveable flirt, Bridget Reilly; while the narrative flow is at all times strong and well controlled.

It is unfortunate of course that in this book Miss Byrd should run into competition with the greatest Irish novel in the mainstream tradition in this century, Liam O'Flaherty's 'Famine'. But in her own quieter, less heroic fashion, she has produced a story which is more easily accessible, and should certainly be read by all those who are interested in the period, and who enjoy a good, sound historical novel.

Miss Byrd makes one curious error, in a book which is otherwise free of anachronisms. She has the emigrants in Galway sing 'Come Back to Erin' while waiting for the coffin ship which is to take them to America. The composer of this ballad, Mrs. Barnard, known as 'Claribel' was born in 1830. It is unlikely that the song could have achieved such wide popularity in Ireland during the famine when the composer was between fifteen and eighteen.

***THE FAMISHED LAND, by Elizabeth Byrd. Macmillan. £2.95.**

# Privileged Moments

## Monk Gibbon

**PROUST AND RILKE. The Literature of Expanded Consciousness. By E. F. N. Jephcott. Chatto and Windus. £3.50.**

**MARINETTI, SELECTED WRITINGS. Edited and with an introduction by R. W. Flint. Secker and Warburg. £5.00**

LET US face the ugly truth. For one book written today with a genuinely creative intention—which may or may not be successful—twenty are written of merely critical assessment. They can be readable, stimulating and provocative; but they are a taking in of some other writer's washing to hang out once more upon the line. The torn shirt of a living poet, which he may still be wearing, is of no interest. What matters is to iron out the pleats once more, in a garment which has been through the wash a hundred times.

Nevertheless, good criticism, though it is no substitute for creative effort, can be extraordinarily interesting reading, when it is well done. It enlarges our horizon, it sets us thinking; or it may echo back to us one of our own conclusions, which is always a pleasurable experience. I read the introductory chapter of *Proust and Rilke* not merely with interest but with excitement. It dealt with a theme which has preoccupied me for a long time, the moment of expanded consciousness. I have written on it in relation to love. E. F. N. Jephcott, lecturer in German at Sussex University, discusses it in relation to self-realisation and literary creativity. His first chapter is in many ways his best; for he outlines the phenomenon as described by five writers, Baudelaire, Flaubert, Hofmannsthal, Valery and Sartre.

As Jephcott puts it: "In this 'spiritualised' awareness, the world is transfigured by a quality of the mind or imagination projected on to external objects: 'the mind . . . casts a magic, supernatural light on the natural obscurity of things,' . . . Knowledge now becomes an intuitive, unitive act."

We have drawn very near to religious mysticism; or to states of mind approaching those of the mystic. William James in his *Varieties of Religious Experiences* quotes from *Souvenirs de ma Jeunesse*. "One day I had a moment of consolation because I met with something which seemed to me ideally perfect. It was a poor drummer beating the tattoo in the streets of Paris. I walked behind him . . . I was enchanted and consoled; the perfection of this wretched act did me good. Good is at least possible I said, since the ideal can thus sometimes get embodied."

This is in exact keeping with Jephcott's main thesis the enormous importance of what he calls privileged moments, and their ensuant benefits to a writer. He deals with Rilke's 'God' and his 'Angel' (but sees them largely as individual metaphors), and he stresses the kinship between the vision of childhood and the privileged moment, (just as Christian teaching links childhood with the kingdom of heaven). But his real objective is creativity.

One weakness is inherent in the correlation of two writers as different—and as similar, he would say — as Rilke and Proust. Proust thinks, and despite his diffuseness, generally writes with the lucidity of the Latin mind. Rilke is thoroughly Teutonic. He examines his feelings at endless length, till his pen runs away with him. But Mr. Jephcott's fine book is enthralling, even when Rilke takes the bit between his teeth.

As for Marinetti, he is a runaway horse right from the start. Most of the things to which he gave his vociferous welcome we are coming to dread. "If prayer means communication with the divinity, running at high speed is prayer. Holiness of wheels and sails. One must kneel on the tracks to pray to the divine velocity". His prayer has certainly been answered. So was another. He could write in February 1915, "As we await our much-prayed-for great war, we futurists carry our violent antineutralist action from city square to university and back again, using our art to prepare the Italian sensibility for the great hour of maximum danger." It says much for Mr. Flint's admirable introduction that he manages to make the epoch more intelligible to us and the man himself at times almost likeable.

# All that Glitters . . .

## Willie Dillon

**IRISH GEORGIAN SILVER, by Douglas Bennett. Cassell. £15.00.**

**IRISH SILVER IN THE ROCOCO PERIOD, by Kurt Tiches. Irish University Press. £5.00**

**IRISH SILVER, by Robert Wyse Jackson. Mercier Press. £2.50.**

MANY PEOPLE are aware that there is a considerable world wide interest in the antiques and *objets d'art* of Ireland's past, yet it is remarkable how few books exist on the various special subjects. Apart from a book on old Irish glass published a few years ago, there has been a sad famine of printed matter on the artistic treasures of Ireland, except for incidental references in such elegant books as Constancia Maxwell's Dublin under the Georges. Now the last month of 1972 has seen the circulation of three handsome books on Irish Silver, at prices to suit every pocket.

"Irish Georgian Silver" by Douglas Bennett is as important for the appreciation of Irish silver as the production of Sir Charles Jackson's "English Goldsmiths and their Mark" was for the United Kingdom over sixty years ago. The book is particularly good on the history of the Goldsmith company of Dublin. The author examined every book and file of the company and much interesting material is collected together for the first time. There is a detailed illustrated survey of the work of the Dublin craftsmen from the early Georgian period up to the Regency period.

The book also contains fifty pages of photographs of Cork, Limerick and other provincial silversmiths working in Ireland. Mr. Bennett's book is lavish with photographs, it abounds also with lists of names and addresses of Dublin goldsmiths and dates of trading arrived at by painstaking reference to old street directories. The author has had twenty years experience in the silver trade yet the book is perfectly understandable to a total stranger to the esoteric world of the silversmith as nearly all technical matters are fully explained. There is also a fascinating section on fakes, forgeries and substandard goods; questions such as "is this bowl right, is it reshaped from another piece, is it decorated later?" always provide topics of keen conversation and controversy.

Mr. Kurt Ticher's "Irish Silver of the Rococo Period" does not really conflict with the previous book, as it is a specialised account of Irish domestic silver of the middle of the eighteenth century. Mr. Ticher is fascinated by the problems of style and decoration of Irish coffee and teapots, cream and sauce boats, sugarbowls and dishrings (never potato rings) of the golden age of Irish silver. His

**A circular dish cover, c. 1748. An illustration from "Irish Silver in the Rococo Period."**

book consists of a splendid array of fullplate photographs and a brief but scholarly text on the difficulties of dating and decoration of silver of two hundred years ago. The book will be appreciated as much for its elegant appearance as for its solid contribution to a special field of study.

"Irish Silver" by Robert Wyse Jackson, is a slim volume with its own appeal and interest. It is a pocket guide to silver from the Celtic period to the mediaeval world and on Irish silver ware from 1637 to the present day. Of the three books it is the most modestly priced but its presentation appears to be somewhat quaint and it might have been better to publish in paperback form with improved photography and layout. The book contains many interesting details on old church plate and the notes on Limerick and other provincial silversmiths are full of useful information.

**Willie Dillon is the proprietor of Hibernian Antiques of Molesworth Place.**

# Art and Essay Books

**MEN OF ATHENS, by Rex Warner. The Bodley Head. £4.50.**

Rex Warner was a former director of the British Institute in Athens and is now professor of English at the University of Connecticut. His *Men of Athens* is a study of certain individuals whose thought and work influenced their own time and times after them including our own—three tragedians Aeschylus, Sophocles, Europides; one writer of comedies, Aristophanes; one sculptor and architect, Sphadias one political leader, Pericles; one historian and political scientist, Thucydides, and one philosipher, Socrates.

All of these men lived and worked within a period of less than a hundred years and most of them knew each other personally. Rex Warner's study is lavishly illustrated with many beautiful coloured plates of early Greek art, basrelief, and many photographs of the ruins of temples and monuments of 2,500 years ago.

**CLEOPATRA. by Michael Grant. Weidenfeld and Nicholson. £4.25.**

It's not that there is anything new to be said about Cleopatra but certainly nobody can retell the tale with more certain authority than Michael Grant who, last Christmas, published a new study of Caesar—the father of Cleopatra's first child.

The popular image of Cleopatra as a wayward passionate woman neglecting affairs of state for a life of sensuous luxury is far from the truth. A brilliant linguist and the first of her Greek-speaking dynasty who bothered to learn Egyptian, she possessed so varied and versatile a reputation that people believed her the author of treatises on subjects as different as agriculture, make-up and alchemy. Yet her reputation as a temptress is well founded.

Julius Ceaser and Anthony, the two most distinguished Romans of their day, both found her an entrancing lover. But even her love affairs fitted in with her imperial plans. She was fiercely proud of her royal heritage and determined to restore her empire to its former

**Self-portrait in a hat. From "The Complete Paintings of Cézanne," published by Weidenfeld and Nicolson at £2.60.**

greatness. Scholar, murderess, ruler, woman and suicide—this is a fascinating book which splendidly lives up to the force of the legend.

**THE SPANISH ARMADAS by Winston Graham. Collins. £4.25.**

For many general readers of the period the conflict between England and Spain in the sixteenth century is concentrated on the destruction of the great Armada in 1588 by Drake, Howard and the English weather. Winston Graham's study, however, places that Armada in its true position as only the most spectacular attempts by the Spanish to conquer England, first by friendship, then by the marriage by Phillip to Mary, and later by battle. Although the clash of the two great fleets provides a central theme of this work it makes clear that the defeat of the first Armada did not mean the end of the Spanish Navy but rather its beginning on new lines. After 1588 England had only one other real success against Spain, at Cadiz in 1596, Spain, of course, launched three more Armadas of which, to Irish readers, the most relevant was the last one which ended with the surrender of Kinsale in 1601.

Graham's publishers have served him proudly in this edition which has 32 pages of colour plates and 109 black and white illustrations. There is also, unusually in a volume of this nature, a full bibliography, detailed notes on the illustrations, and also a proper index to the whole study. Thoroughly recommended.

**THE LIFE AND TIMES OF JAMES II, by Peter Earle. Weidenfeld and Nicolson. £2.65.**

This is a further volume on the kings and queens of England under the general editorship of Antonia Frazier. To some, James remains Macauley's tyranical villian; to others a misunderstood martyr. Peter Earle, seems to agree with the cynical conclusions of a lady of the French court "King James was a brave and honest man but the silliest I have ever seen."

This richly illustrated volume is strongly recommended not only for the general reader but for senior school students of the period as well.

**MODERN LANDSCAPE PAINTING, by Carlo Santini. Phaidon Press. £11.00. £11.00.**

This book is more than a random collection of landscape paintings by twentieth-century artists; it is an anthology, arranged chronologically, of works by most of the leading painters active between the turn of the century and the present day, supported by extracts from modern writers which are descriptive of landscape. This dual approach — the visual and the literary — is a fascinating method of interpretation and certainly helps in a deeper understanding of this subject.

In the introduction, the author examines the concept of landscape and discusses this in the light of environmental changes that have been taking place in the past seventy years. He goes on to assess the importance of the experiments of the non-figurative painters which played a determining role in establishing the non-naturalistic interpretation of reality in landscape painting.

The volume contains a total of two hundred and forty-five plates, including fifty-two in colour, and a valuable reference section at the end of the book gives biographical details of the one hundred and thirty three artists represented in the illustrations. The author is a lecturer in the history of art in the Academy of Fine Arts, Carrara, and is also a professor at the International University of Florence.

**THE SHOCK OF THE NEW, by Ian Dunlop. Weidenfeld & Nicholson. £4.95.**

**A Faction Fighter. An illustration from "A Seat Behind the Coachman." An anthology of extracts from the notebooks of 19th-century travellers in Ireland published by G&I and Macmillan at £3.50.**

Each of the seven exhibitions covered by this book had an extraordinary impact on its times and upon the course of modern art. Each has come to be regarded as a turning point. Each contained works which baffled and shocked contemporary opinion.

Today it requires some imagination to understand how these exhibitions could have caused such forore, or why the work of Manet, Cezanne, Matisse or Duchamp gave so much offence. Ian Dunlop explains how this came about by showing their work in its historical context. He puts some of the great classics of modern art alongside now-forgotten pictures of the year and draws on contemporary comment in letters, memoirs, newspapers and cartoons.

**HISTORY OF HOLY RUSSIA, by Gustave Dore. Alcove Press. £4.95.**

Gustave Dore was 22 in 1854 when the Crimean war broke out, an unknown cartoonist employed on the Journal *Pour Rire*. As far as I can gather he never actually visited Russia himself, but he drew heavily on Custine's celebrated "La Russie in 1839" which was enormously popular in Paris at this peak period of Russophobia. In these savage anti-Russian cartoons, Dore achieves the effect of ridicule by telling nonsense in a seemingly straight forward, dead pan, and almost pedantic manner. The natural affinity of Dore with Rabelais must have struck contemporaries for immediately after the original appearance of this histoire he was commissioned to illustrate Gargantua et Pantagruel. It was this work which brought him international fame and launched him on his career as Europe's most successful illustrator.

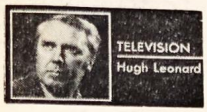
**ART AND LIFE IN POLYNESIA, by Dr. Terry Barrow. Pall Mall Press. £6.50p.**

Dr. Barrow is a third generation New Zealander and this book is the result of two decades of his experience as a museum ethnologist, and of extensive travel and research in the whole Pacific area. Quite apart from its aesthetic appeal, therefore, the book is of value to the art student, sculpture, designer as well as to the ethnologist and anthropologist.

The author does not agree with the Thor Heyerdahl (of Kon-Tiki fame) theory of primary Polynesian origins in the American continent and his own theories in this respect together with the chronology of settlement, social structure, religion, mana and taboo, warfare, totums, etc., makes this a fascinating book to the student of Polynesian art and life.

# ARTS AND LEISURE

## Two Voids and a Lull




The season is upon us when reviewers, crazed with power, draw up their honours lists and lavishly dispense awards—which, being purely verbal, cost them not a penny—to the Ten Best Whatevers of the Year: even Gay Byrne has got in on the act by lighting a fire under Edna O'Brien and then, somewhat redundantly, attempting to warm her charred remains with a tribute to her gorgeousness. Residing, as the television critic does, in the Clanbrassil Street of the arts, my problem is not so much that of choosing the ten best RTE programmes of 1972, as of calling to mind *any* ten RTE programmes. Looking back, one's impression is that the year consisted of two gaping voids separated by a lull—the lull being, of course, that four-month estivation known as the summer schedules.

One remembers with gratitude Patrick Gallagher's moving film-portrait of Belfast *agonistes;* and then there was the great day when the nation returned to their homes on learning that *Partners in Practice* was at last over—because of the wassailing in the streets of the capital this occasion became known as Victory-in-Dublin Day, or VD Day for short. But it would be churlish to pass over some of the year's more magical, if fleeting, moments. For instance, the title of Comedian of the Year must assuredly go to Oliver J. Flanagan, who assumed that the derisive references to himself in *To Whom It Concerns* were wholly complimentary, and even thanked Gay Byrne for his "47 kind words"—which proves that Mr. Flanagan can't count either. A close runner-up here was John B. Keane for his confession that he never begins a play without invoking the Holy Ghost: a ritual which I personally reserve for those occasions when I see Mr. Matt Doolan on television.

A special Nice Person Award goes to Liam Nolan, who on sound radio so described himself in response to intimations to the contrary from Patrick Riddell. Mr. Nolan's word is good enough for me, and I shall continue to watch *Cross Questions* in hopes of actually witnessing his Ascencion. This brings me naturally to the award for Trier of the Year, which goes to the ubiquitous Mr. Desmond Broadberry, who, having graced *The Late Late Show*, thereby clinching the amendment to Article 44, turned up a few weeks later in the offices of the *Sunday Independent*, brandishing—hang on to your turkey rissoles—a photograph *(sic)* of the Blessed Virgin floating in space—an intriguing case of "Publish *or* be damned." (Alas, they didn't, and they are.) This year's silver-plated Vick inhaler is awarded to Mike Murphy; and Mr. Ulick O'Connor gets the Forgotten-But-Not-Gone Trophy for the fifth year running.

Seriously, and don't faint, if I had an actual award to give, it would go to Bunny Carr. Mr. Carr is more often surrounded by clerics than is a decanter of John Jameson, and his voice has in consequence acquired a residual reverential hush. But it is precisely this verbal genuflection which enables him to fulfil the interviewer's main function: to get at the facts and not take yes-and-no for an answer. One suspects that Mr. Carr actually likes people, and perhaps this accounts for the ease with which he induces bevies of bishops to wax argumentative on such topics as—to traduce Jerome Kern—the folks who live on the pill. So far he has managed to seem impartial without becoming coated with that hard gloss which has been creeping up, probably unawares, on the otherwise formidable Gay Byrne.

There is no point in attempting a survey of RTE's paltry output of drama. Of the seven plays scheduled for this winter two were cancelled—and the highlight of the remaining five was a bowdlerised version of *The Lads* by Joe O'Donnell, which nonetheless was strong enough to necessitate the restringing of countless rosary beads. Parenthetically, having read a letter which states that there is too much of this sort of thing going on, one is moved to enquire: how much, then, is enough?

*The Late Late Show* continues to shine fitfully like a bad deed in a sanctimonious world. Its main weakness was exemplified a few weeks ago when it included items about a new magazine for teenagers and the plight of wives whose husbands decline to support them. The publishers of the magazine came in for passionate abuse on moral grounds ("this is a Christian country," a lady reiterated like a budgie in a tantrum), but none at all on the basis that the periodical in question is imitative, instantly forgetable tripe.

A recent *Tangents* item about the Gardai was uncritical to the point of smartness. It was followed by warnings about dangerous toys and exorbitant Christmas packaging: both items shamelessly fliched from BBC's *Nationwide*. But at least the thieves had good taste: the recent muzzling of RTE has turned it into a visual equivalent of Radio Luxembourg, which augurs badly for 1973, and even borrowed plumage is preferable to the spectacle of a *castrato* delivering an *aria* in praise of scissors. More than ever, RTE is becoming an unending party political broadcast interrupted by ceilidhes and weather reports, and, unhappily, it is not the captain who clings longest to a sinking ship, but the barnacles.

Marcela Machotkova as Lisa in "Queen of Spades."

Helja Angervo as Octavian in "Rosenkavalier."

## The Need For An Opera Workshop

WE HAD a sandwich last December, courtesy of the D.G.O.S. It consisted of two slices of fairly stale bread, but the filling was rich, black, juicy caviar. So many more important things need to be done in this country that to expect anything thing sensible in the matter of opera. Still, like it or not, we are now part of a Community which is supposedly civilised, and some effort will have to be made. There are those who fear that the natives of this island will be contaminated by our new neighbours; however, my own fears are that the opposite will happen having regard to our well-known missionary spirit.

During Brian Dickie's term of office in Wexford he staged some operas efficiently and others reasonably, but two were presented with brilliance. *Il Re Pastore*, and *Katya Kabanova*. Over a similar period the D.G.O.S. have given us four memorable presentations, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, *Fidelio*, *Bartered Bride* and *Queen of Spades*. These four operas and *Katya Kabanova* were all conducted by Albert Rosen. Before London starts casting too many sheeps' eyes in his direction would it be at all possible that the D.G.O.S. and Wexford could ensnare him in some way that his very decided gifts might be available to the benefit of the natives in general. The D.G.O.S. have been in existence for many more decades than Wexford, but looking at their recent performance of *Faust* I felt as if time had stood still, and that I was back in the good old days, when everything could and frequently did happen.

One has always had the impression (wrongly, I am sure) that the D.G.O.S. employ with reluctance Irish artists. For the last four seasons this abberration has been almost ironed out, and Irish singers have more than acquitted themselves with credit. In this last season Ruth Maher was outstandingly good in all that she did. In *Queen of Spades* her dancing and singing and her duet with Lisa were all carried out with a degree of polish and smoothness. This production, by the way, must surely have killed once and for all the myth that height on a stage can be a disadvantage for an actress. Both Johanna Peters and Ruth Maher are tall girls, and it was delightful to see them using their height to such advantage rather than slinking round in low-heeled shoes, looking embarrassed.

Miss Peters as the Countess in *Queen of Spades* gave what was for me at any rate the best performance of crabby, arthritic, petulance and mischievous crankiness that I have seen ever since the late Brid Ni Loinsigh played in a similar role. In both cases the minimum movement was necessary to create a sense of painful irritability. It is a marvellous scene with Hermann, and you could have heard a pin drop in the Gaiety; no wonder Tchaikovsky was terrified when he was writing it.

I love giving advice to the D.G.O.S., because they receive it so gracefully. As they well know you cannot really do anything exciting in opera on a grant of £15,000. The D.G.O.S. have clug to the idea of always putting on two seasons of opera, one at Christmas and the other in the Spring. Would they think perhaps of holding in the Christmas season an "Opera Workshop," to which the public could come and to which all their patrons would make their usual generous contribution?

The Workshop idea is not as crazy as it sounds, and I visualise a glorious set-to with Albert Rosen and Horacek showing everybody how to unite stage and pit, so that each nuance of a libretto can be utilised as in that scene with Hermann and the Countess. Dr. MacLiammoir might be entitled to give us some pearls of wisdom in the matter of stage and costume. It is badly needed, and, having looked with real pain on the drabness of the Marschallin's bedroom and the embarrassing garments that the unfortunate dancers wore in Faust, Dr. MacLiammoir's words of wisdom would surely be welcome.

In addition to all this, a new opera of no more than one-act in length could be commissioned. If a competition was held it would be even better, and the Artistic Director of the Wexford Festival and Glyndebourne could be called in as an adjudicator. In this way, if the opera were good enough, it might be staged in either Wexford or Glyndebourne.

In the matter of production and scene design the D.G.O.S. is in a bad way quite apart from the previous suggestions. The recent production of *Der Rosenkavalier* showed the company in a very poor light. The first act takes place in the Marschallin's bedroom. She is a woman of the world, and an aristocrat. She is also the wife of a Field-Marshal and it is presumed that such a woman would have in her room curtains of a degree of feminity rather than the shrunken un-ironed variety which the D.G.O.S. produced. For her amours she would also have done better in the matter of a reclining place for the pleasures of the flesh than a divan-bed which might have graced the windows of Messrs. Cavendish with charm, but which in a Viennese aristocratic household looked ridiculous. A Four-Poster with plenty of delicious drapings (and none of that coy nonsense of having the Marschallin lying with her head to the audience) was as what was needed.

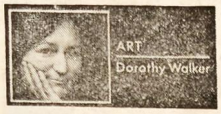
The Marschallin is something more than a beautiful and elegant woman just passing her prime. She is also highly intelligent and tolerant with a remarkable sense of humour. Every instrument, but particularly oboes, horns, and strings have at one time or another the ability to demonstrate her various qualities. Strauss was a genious at delineating character in music, and the Marschallin is his best offering. She is young enough to know the fleeting pang of momentary pleasure and desire; therefore the oboe is used with beautiful nostalgia. She is an aristocrat and much of her husband's autocratic ways have rubbed off on to her, so horns, clarinets and tympani make pointed remarks to this effect. She may have loved sincerely on previous occasions, but now with Octavian is amusing herself and reliving past more sophisticated loves, hence the rich lilting divisi strings. The greatest triumph of the opera is the manner in which Strauss keeps the Field-Marshall on stage while in reality he is hundreds of miles away.

The failure in the Gaiety to grasp or pin-point a single one of these simple points was maddening. Maestro Annovazi has conducted this opera many times, but the shambles of the string passages in the Prelude to Act I and the fact that the deterioraion of the lovely Marschallin over three acts did not come across was as much his fault as it was of the producer.

The final irritation, however, was that Helja Angervo, Helen Griffel and Rolf Polke had the finest voices of those heard in the three operas. Griffel and Angervo were of the exact timbre, vitality and quality to do real justice to the parts. Angervo is a find, and in addition to looking enchanting she can act and move as well as any really high-class soubrette. The small parts also were very well filled, and given even the most down-to-earth production this should have been the highlight of the whole season. It is a mystery to me why it was not.

Whatever happened to the marvellous plans to bring *Dalibor* straight with entire cast from the stage of the Prague Theatre? Force of Destiny, and Falstaff, much as I love them, are a bit ordinary. Still we can dream.

# The £30,000 Bank of Ireland Collection




THE BANK OF IRELAND Group, in their new headquarters in Baggot St., have set an exciting standard to their colleagues in acquiring works of art. They have spent about £30,000 on buying the very best modern Irish art. Not only are the best Irish artists represented here but the best of their work to date. The result is a collection which is literally better in quality than the collection of the Municipal Gallery, and which, having been bought within a period of two years, has a cohesion and intensity of feeling, although made up of widely differing artists and styles. The building itself, which is so supremely distinguished both inside and out (with the one exception of the staff-sargeant's insignia and logotype for the bank title, both supremely undistinguished) lends its authority to the works of art which bask in beautifully hung perspective in the interior spaces of the building.

Cecil King's new painting, **Oblique,** is a quite new departure from the long and fruitful **Berlin** series: a single black parallelogram bleeds off the bottom edge of a horizontal red ground; a thin white line meets the upper right-hand point of the black form, joining it at a corresponding angle. The white line then turns vertically for a very short distance when it stops abruptly, leaving the whole painting hanging in the most tense balance. It is a study in superbly confident visual manipulation. Michael Farrell's Pressé series comes to a magnificent conclusion in **Orange Squash,** where the drops of orange squash, now in three dimensions, are squeezed out in all directions, including onto the floor underneath. Alexandra Wejchert's **Red Flying Saucers** is a large relief of red platters emerging from a plain red background. They come in clusters, some as big as a large dish, others as small as saucers. They are set in one of the happiest perspective views with two almost-twin paintings of arches by Derek Hirst on two receding walls. One of the artist's earlier painted-peg reliefs also hangs in the street-front elevation on Baggot St. In the side hall of the same block, also visible from the street, six of Robert Ballagh's exhibition series hang together. The way he type-casts the onlookers and relates them to the paintings is exceedingly sophisticated, like the bored and bewildered but basically unbothered suburban couple looking at the protest marchers in Ballagh's own early painting, or the lady with the hat who might like the Soulages, or indeed, in the current Living Art exhibition, the lovers looking at Indiana's **Love Wall.** These paintings accumulate shades of social comment and layers of painterly skill in spite of their easy and innocent appearance.

The Bank is lucky in possessing the first of William Scott's **Berlin Blues** series, made when he was Ford Foundation scholar in Berlin in the mid-sixties. Painted on a larger scale than what he had been doing until then, the paintings all consist of blue abstract shapes on a white ground, but William Scott has the uncanny knack of making the normally cool colour blue glow with an intensity like orange or red. He uses a pure bright blue which he has almost appropriated now as his own. The Bank also owns one of his later Still Lifes (1971) painted just prior to his important retrospective exhibition at the Tate Gallery last spring. In these latest paintings, he still used his domestic shapes of pots and pans, cups and plates, but pared down now to images of absolute clarity, growing of their own accord on the canvas, so sure and inevitable is the artist's power.

Patrick Scott is also shown at the height of his power in the huge tapestry in the entrance hall, where a great blaze of light radiates from a circular scarlet form on a dark blue background. In the centre of the blaze, a narrow fire-break circle occurs and within this circle the blaze intensifies, by a simple technical means of slightly altering the background colour. At the far end of the entrance hall, a small, cool abstract sculpture by Brian King, **Three,** consists of three steel angles painted blue, with corresponding yellow angles on a smaller scale.

Paintings by Roy Johnston, Anne Madden, Brian Henderson, Norah McGuinness, Barrie Cooke, Colin Harrison, and sculpture by Gerda Fromel and Oisin Kelly, look better than they ever have, which does indicate the importance of setting and integration with architecture. The slant of the collection is towards large public works suitable for public places, so from this point of view the collection is not representative: there are no works by Camille Souter, Patrick Collins, Nano Reid, Louis le Brocquy, all painters requiring a more private contemplation. In this sense, the collection is limited, but these limitations are only experienced as an aftermath, certainly not at the time of the rich and exciting artistic experience which a visit to the Bank now involves.

**Sarah Miles as Lady Caroline Lamb in a scene from the film of the same name, now showing at Adelphi 1.**

# Lamb To The Slaughter

IN CHOOSING to make his directorial debut with *LADY CAROLINE LAMB* (Adelphi 1) Robert Bolt, in an R.T.E. interview, gave as his reasons (a) that it provided his wife, Sarah Miles, with a "corking part," and (b) he saw his heroine as "the first of the swingers, a very relevant figure for today, bucking a powerful society, in conflict with the manners and morals of her day, and determined to do her own thing."

In another interview, this time in *The Irish Times,* he elaborated further: "She was in at the birth of the Romantic explosion, while we live in the very fagend of the deepest decadence of that revolution. But both she and Byron in their behaviour embody in their eccentricities the awareness of individual liberty that was emerging at the time."

There are certain points of evidence in the film as we have it, that Bolt's original intention may have been to dramatise the transition between the 18th century Augustan, or Classical, Age and the subsequent Romantic Revolt of the 19th. But somewhere along the line he changed his mind, or it was changed for him, since, to paraphrase Sam Goldwyn, there's nothing as timid as four million dollars (which the film cost to make). So, what we have in *LADY CAROLINE LAMB* is a costume spectacular, a Romantic Melodrama with Gothick trimmings, in which a domestic tragi-comedy is played out against the wider social and political background.

Robert Bolt has also put it on record that he has no objection to inventing incidents and episodes in which to involve his characters as long as those incidents stem from reality and remain true to the spirit of the people of the period. This is perfectly justifiable, and I would not find fault with it. There is some slight basis in fact for most of the invented happenings. We know that Caroline accompanied Byron to a party dressed as his page, but there is no record of her having done so as a topless blackamoor. It is a fact that Caroline used spend her time with the coachmen and servants while Byron was dining at some house from which she was excluded, but we have no evidence that she used run beside his carriage as a linkboy with torch. One of the most successful episodes in the film is all invention — Caroline's seduction of the Duke of Wellington in order to redeem her fortunes through his protection and patronage. But in many other parts of the film Mr. Bolt's inventions fail to match in interest the actual facts which are much more dramatic and, frequently, more bizarre.

Lady Caroline emerges in the film as a kind of 18th century version of a Chelsea deb, rushing madly around in pallid make-up with red-rimmed eyes, flouting the conventions, flaunting her affairs, and generally boring the chemises and breeches off all her acquaintances. She wins the hand of William Lamb (later Lord Melbourne and Prime Minister), a rising young politician, but wrecks her marriage after four years, and almost ruins his political career, by having a tempestuous affair with the pop-poet of the day, Lord Byron. When tossed aside by Byron she then embarks on a number of more sordid liaisons, and finally puts herself outside the pale by attempting to kill herself in public so as to win back the attention of Byron. This brings on a mental breakdown; William is advised to obtain a legal separation or jeopardise his career, but with scrupulous rectitude he chooses to stand by his wife.

Caroline, in remorse, finally agrees to the legal separation and William is dispatched to an executive position in Dublin Castle. As he sits in the Castle apartments, going through his papers as a storm howls outside, back in England Caroline rises from a sick bed and dressed in mystic samite wanders out into the wind-tossed night with clouds scudding across the moon, and dies of a broken heart, alone and unattended, in what looks like a Greek-style gazebo.

This is sheer romantic tushery, but we should not be surprised that Robert Bolt's first film turns out to be substandard David Lean. The basic weakness is at the very heart of the film where Sarah Miles, through the inconsistency of the character, the lack of any genuine depth of feeling and convicing motivation, is able to suggest merely an irritating minx, and cannot hold the centre against the more brilliant gallery of public figures surrounding her. And what should have tragic overtones is reduced to the serio-comedic. She catches readily enough the petulant, spoiled Lolita aspect of the character as well as the wounded-bird-in-the-cage bit, but the script gives her no chance to realise the real dimensions of Caroline—the lively attraction she radiated in her early years, the trembling sensibility that, as Lord David Cecil puts it in his biography, responded like a violin string to poetry, music and eloquence, or the creative individuality, whimsical, extravagant, enchanting which "scrawled its signature in a thousand fanciful flourishes on everything she said and did." For the record, Caroline did not die romantically in a Grecian gazebo; she died raddled and swollen with dropsy after years of cheap love affairs, drink, drugs and laudanum. And William, after her death, became Prime Minister, and got deeply involved with yet another Caroline, Mrs. Norton, a woman of a very different kind but in her own way almost equally exasperating—but he did not marry her!

The film is much better on the periphery where we get some hints of the film Bolt had possibly in mind. We find them in Wellington's dry asides, marvellously timed by Olivier, and in Richardson's amiably bumbling depiction of the intermittently mad George IV. There are also intimations of what might have been in Jon Finch's portrayal of the long-suffering William as a man of taste and sensibility, and in his reply to the charge that a tougher line with Caroline might have served them both better: "It is possible, but anything is possible. Nothing is left but chaos and sensation." Above all, in the finest performance, Margaret Leighton's Lady Melbourne, a weary sophisticated woman of the world, who manages to embody the whole fastidious recklessness of the Whig aristocracy. To her are given some of the best lines, as when Caroline's devoted housekeeper weeps, "A broken heart, that's what she died of"; to which Lady Melbourne retorts, "My God! Wouldn't she!"

Finally, a word of praise for Richard Chamberlain's intelligent depiction of Byron despite the lack of a club foot and the very few opportunities granted to him to suggest the spirit of self-mockery in which Byron carried off his self-dramatisations. Praise too for Patrick Carey's second unit work; his outdoor camerawork is a badly-needed contribution to Robert Bolt's romantic gallimaufry.

# Old Times

I OVERLOOKED in my summary of Dublin Theatre '72 Alan Simpson's very amusing rather evil and magnificently entertaining necrophiliac job on *Richard's Cork Leg*. I also, here and now, award the red badge of courage to Gemini productions for *The Lads*, which seems to evoke the most violent reactions from the clean-living citizens of Dublin. Shelah Richards version on TV had the same results. Horrible, Licentious, Disgusting, Blatantly Immoral, No Christian Irish Boy etc., etc. Why is it the Irish have never been able to differentiate between purity and prudery? What *is* their problem? Gemini also gallantly plunged on a Cork production of *Between Two Shadows* the Haire play about the North. Not a very good play but at least it gave us an inkling of the problems, which beset the North, which no other theatre management here seems interested in doing. Medals for Phyllis Ryan and all her gang.

The high spot of the year came at the end, too late for me to include in the Day of Judgment. This was Alan Barlow's interesting exciting production of Pinter's *Old Times* at the Peacock, which deserved a much longer run. Barlow proved for this production at least that he is not only a superb designer but also a very fine director and I hope his services will be acquired a great deal during the new year. Joan O'Hara and Angela Newman both brought to their roles that enigmatic elusive quality which Pinter's dialogue demands. Dialogue so perfectly timed, so exquisite in its sparse selectivity and so deadly in its cumulative effect. Barlow drew from them both, muted stylised performances, and yet all the time you were uneasily conscious of the hidden rages, the deep jealousies, the terrors which lay just below the surface. One might describe the trio, for the play *is* a trio, as three wilfully unhappy tormented people who have at last come to open combat—not about the present—no that's too simple for Pinter—about the Past. And as in all Pinter's plays the past is the victor and the ashes are for the living day. It is not a play about marriage. It is a play about *a* marriage.

The characters are all three intellectually bright, sophisticated and prosperous, but they move in a vacuum because of what Henry James described in his most powerful novella—*The Beast* in the jungle is there, waiting to spring. Sentence by sentence, punctuated by terrifying silences during which the characters draw another breath and plan their next move, the tortured husband uncovers the past. He learns that his wife had enjoyed a lesbian relationship during her youth with this visitor and that he is in truth the odd man out. He has never been able to give his wife the excitement, the emotional richness she experienced in the past with this other woman. Odd Man Out, the name of a film they had all enjoyed in their youth is the theme of the play, but it is more than that, it is the sterility of their passions and the devastating realisation that the object of their sad loves is, in fact, a passive fading nothing. In fact all three of them are emotionally dying and only by calling up the past can they derive some spurious pleasure in their existence. Ah well! Proust did it all rather well too, with those days and nights in the hotel at Balbec, with all his agonised citizens of *Sodome et Gomorrhe*. I thought Desmond Perry deflated too soon as the husband. There should have been at the beginning at least, a facade of male bluster, and I could not understand why Angela Newman was costumed as a late Victorian murderess, but who cares, it was for once a completely adult evening in the theatre.

SWEET AND SOUR has moved out of the Eblana and *Laughing Stock* has taken its place. Eblana is now a revue theatre. That calls for a receptive rather raffish audience, if its to be true-blue revue. In that case to have it a nine o'clock curtain so that people could dine comfortably first might be a good idea. Fergus Linehan has drawn on a very talented group of writers to aid him and he is a pretty wit himself, but Oh God the dreary format! Well we'll come to that later. On the credit side. Three or four of the sketches were very good indeed. 'Hamlet Prince of Tubbercurry' was riotous; 'Bless This House' was almost as good; so was 'Lots of Room At The Inn' and 'Marriage A La Mode'. 'Shooting Star', the only sketch which had style and moved outside provincialism was too long and should have had delicate treatment; it got the bull-dozers. The usual political take-off 'Stand Ins' was brilliantly delivered by Martin Dempsey, but again went on too long. 'The Flowerwomen' have only to appear to raise a yawn! I don't care how good they are; we've had it!

The songs were on the whole the best part of the show. "I Got Rhythm," music by John Harrington was marvellous; "Tearing Down Dublin' music by Frank Sheerin had a sad zany quality which was most original and appealing; "Three Clerical Delinquents" was splendid and set a standard of naughtiness which was rather lacking in most of the material.

Rosaline Lenihan and Martin Dempsey are both versatile comedians. She would be even better if she curbed her tendency to stridency and he to over working, and both of them to overplaying. They've got good lines; they don't need to knock themselves out. The rest of the cast I fear were used mostly as stooges and chorus background. Derbhla Molloy has too delicate a talent for revue and I hope she doesn't stay in it too long. She belongs with 'straights'. The audience loved it and its set for a long run.

However, if the Eblana is going to be a revue theatre they will have to cut free of the same dreary old provincial patterns. The set for instance was nothing short of hideous, and though Peter O'Brien is a great man at the piano *and* a composer, why not a group with more original music? And why not more style in the costumes and why not look around at the world outside Dublin? All sorts of things are going on in London, Paris and New York. It's the atmosphere of instant *Deja Vue* that is so discouraging. And talking of atmosphere the smoking during the performances in this ill-ventilated little theatre still persists Two brutes in front of me smoked cigars, *CIGARS*. My only comfort was they were surely marked for early death.

**Deirdre Lawless, Dearbhla Molloy and Maurie Taylor in a scene from "Laughing Stock," now playing at the Eblana.**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## NEWS IN THE ARTS
John O'Reilly

### Supershowman

**NOEL PEARSON** may have lost the battle for the Gaiety last year, but he certainly will help to support that theatre during the coming months. His major coup will be a two-week run from March 19th of the rock musical **Jesus Christ Superstar,** currently running almost everywhere in the Western world. (In London they are now taking bookings for 1974.) It's not, repeat, not a mere concert performance as was first planned, though naturally Pearson for a two-week run cannot hope to compete with the opulance of the London production which cost £100,000 to stage with the bill for extra lighting alone over £15,000. He will, however, have a 30-piece orchestra under the direction of **Phil Coulter,** and a cast of 26 actors directed by **Alan Simpson** which includes ex-Sands singer, **Tony Kenny** as J.C., **Colm Wilkinson** as Judas, **Luke Kelly** as Herod, **Jim McCann** as St. Peter, **Cahir O'Doherty** as Pilate, and from the U.S. **Angeline Butler** and **Lesley Rainey** as Mary Magdalene and Caiphas respectively. Prices are, in the circumstances, very reasonable, at 75p, £1.00 and £1.50. Anticipating a heavy demand at the box-office, postal bookings facilities will be available from January 15th, from **Superstar, P.O. Box 626,** 15 College Green. The first night, incidentally, will be a gala premiere, organised by Irish Amnesty for Amnesty International.

For two weeks before Superstar, Pearson will be staging the latest **Niall Tobin** one-man show, a political satire called "Less of That/More of the Other," and in May also in the Gaiety, he plans to produce in association with the Royal Court, **E. A. Whitehead's** (no relation to **O. Z. Whitehead**) play Alphabeta, with **Rita Tushingham** and Tobin, possibly to be directed by **Anthony Page.** An ambitious and very promising programme.

### Cuban Focus

UNDERSTANDABLY enough, a theatre the size of Focus must of necessity concentrate on a well-known classical repertoire to keep their small box-office happy, but next month could mark a decisive departure to this policy, when for only the second time in their remarkable five-year existence, they take on a new play. Well not completely new, but unknown certainly. It is Cuban-born **Eduardo Manet's** black comedy "The Nuns." The production, which opens in early February, will be directed by **Tom Hickey,** with **John Murphy, Timmy MacDonnell, Jim Downey** and **Deirdre O'Connell** in the cast. Their only previous attempt with a new play (by **Lee Gallagher**) was a commercial disaster. Hopefully their audiences will show up in sufficient numbers to encourage Focus to more risks in the future.

### For The Kids

A CULPABLE lack of publicity almost but didn't quite kill off the new children's show at the Project. It's by **Russell Mason** who wrote the very successful rock musical **Stephanie;** you can see this one, called "Picklenose Rumblegrump" twice daily at 3.30 and 8.30 except Sundays when it plays afternoons only.

### Fallen Angel

"COURAGE," one of the four angels on **John Foley's** 19th century monument in O'Connell Street, which was damaged in a bomb blast two years ago, is apparently to be restored to its former glory. Dublin Corporation have given the job to **John Behan's** Dublin Art Foundry; the project will take about fifteen months and cost about £3,000.

### Record-Breakers

ONE OF the most heartening success stories in the music world has been the progress of the New Irish Recording Company, which last year released seven albums, all of them very favourably reviewed both here and abroad. There are no detailed sales figures yet, but N.I.R.C. estimate sales of about 500 copies of each L.P. in this country and about the same number overseas. No challenge to **Big Tom,** perhaps, but a very respectable achievement in the rarified field of classical records. New releases for this year will include work by **A. J. Potter, Gerald Victory, Brian Boydell** and **Frank Corcoran,** and performances by the **R.T.E.S.O., Charles Lynch, John Beckett** and **Grainne Yeats.**

### Wexford Arts

ARISING from the success of the Wexford opera Festivals a committee has been formed to establish a Wexford Arts Centre. The committee is presently negotiating with Wexford Corporation for the Acquisition of the Assembly Rooms, a tall, spacious, Georgian fronted building in Corn Market. Detailed remodelling plans have been submitted for the building, and it is estimated that £20,000 will be required. The Arts Council and Bord Failte between them will make £4,000 available for the project, and it is hoped that the rest of the money will be raised locally. The remodelling will be carried out in two stages. The first stage will be the development of an art gallery and creative workshop, which it is hoped will be completed in October, 1973. Phase 2 will incorporate a workshop for music, drama, ballet, pottery and painting.

### Price Review?

WHILE the Eblana Revue Theatre, whose first production **Mary Manning** reviews in this issue, is certainly a very welcome addition to Dublin's rather impoverished theatre scene, I was shocked to note their high admission prices, an astonishing 75p and 80p only, compared to the more reasonable 30p for the Abbey or Gate. Granted, of course, those two theatres receive hefty government subsidies (incidentally wasn't the Gate subsidy supposed to be for some form of **repertory** theatre?), which the Eblana doesn't have, but such steep prices will surely limit its potential audience to the "fur wraps" and "Black Magic" brigade.

# Seen But Not Heard

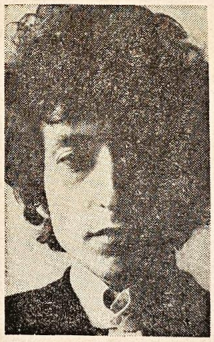
Terry Kelleher

records

READING ABOUT pop music is generally as unsatisfying as watching the radio. For that matter, even records on a good stereo system fail to do many pop artists justice, transferring, as they do, what should be a great and exciting public spectacle to the comparative sedateness of one's living-room. However, the temporary post-Christmas moratorium in the record business, combined with what I hope is a temporary illness of my stereo, gives me the opportunity to write on some of the books on pop which have appeared recently.

And quite an improvement they show. The publishing world is at last realising that pop devotees can no longer be satisfied with sixty-four-page books of sixty-four photos of their idol wearing sixty-four different smiles, they want a more serious in-depth approach. The problem, of course, is that few pop artists (like anyone else), deserve such notice, and doubtless we can expect embarrassing freaks like Donny Osmond and musical nightmares like Big Tom to receive the full biography treatment. But no one could dispute the importance of Presley, Dylan or the Beatles, all of whose influence extended far beyond the music scene, and each of whom have been the subject of a book this year.

The best and most interesting is Anthony Scaduto's **Bob Dylan, An Intimate Biography (W. H. Allen, £2.50),** now also available as an **Abacus** paperback at quarter that price. Scrupously researched—a difficult enough task, considering that Robert Allen Zimmermann, as he was born, told an everchanging version of his background to anyone he met, orphan, hillbilly, etc.—and, refreshingly irreverent, clearly pointing out

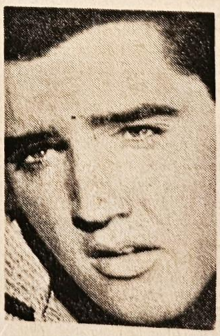


Bob Dylan

the numerous parodies, plagiarisms, and downright thefts which were included in many of Dylan's earlier and some of his most celebrated compositions.

The most important section of the book describes his first arrival in New York in 1961, the people who helped and influenced him; Guthrie, of course; Dave Van Ronk, Phil Ochs, Seeger, Joan Baez (and the Clancy Brothers), and the growth of his protest image, best expressed in his 'Blowing In The Wind,' written in 1962, which became the anthem for the American and many other civil rights movements. It's the image which still persists, though he officially shed it soon after, two years to be exact, when he issued his fourth album, 'The Other Side Of Bob Dylan,' explaining that 'There aren't any finger-pointing songs in here. Me, I don't want to write *for* people any more.' But, happily, he shared the songs he went on to write for himself, and, if anything, they were even better.

Jerry Hopkins writes more stylishly and entertaingly on **Elvis (Open Gate Books and Macmillan, £1.95),** but his subject is less interesting as a personality in his own right. Presley certainly is one of the more influential people of the 20th century (much more so than Dylan, who originally had 'wanted to be like Elvis Presley,' and who without Presley's breakthrough would have had no audience to sing for), but though his music is again receiving deserved attention, it was neither the singer nor the songs, but the phenomenon of the global marketing of a young pop artist which made Presley unique. As Nick Cohn has pointed out, his big contribution was that "he brought home just how economically powerful teenagers could be." Hopkins doesn't take this sociological line, but rather gives a straightforward portrait of the country boy from Tupelo, Mississippi, who became 'the King.' He tells us of Presley's sense of humour and family loyalty, his intelligence and good manners, and even of 'Colonel' Tom Parker's straightforwardness in business, producing hundreds of quotations from sources who are named, but not evaluated. It's not quite as sycophantic as that, he does produce the unflattering comments as well, but there is very little of the author in the book. As Cohn put it, 'Elvis is where pop music begins and ends.' And as such he deserves a more incisive approach.



Elvis Presley.

One of the most interesting facts in Hopkins' book is that despite the vast sums that Elvis has earned, he and Parker have never resorted to the usual tax dodges of holding companies or paper corporations. Not so the Beatles, who, on the death of their manager, Brian Epstein, became the object of a boardroom struggle involving T.V. and record companies, leading city financial houses (including the ubiquitous Slater Walker) and two Americans bidding to succeed Epstein, Allan Klein and Lee Eastman, the latter McCartney's father-in-law (whose family, ironically, had changed its name from Epstein). The struggle is faithfully recorded in Peter McCabe and Robert D. Schonfelds **Apple To The Core (Martin Brian and O'Keeffe, £2.00).** Certainly, Epstein was too inexperienced in the early days to demand the lucrative recording contracts which the abrasive Klein, who now controls three-quarters of the group, has since achieved, but he cared passionately and selflessly about the Beatles as people and about their music, which neither the dollar-loving Klein nor Eastman have done. And we as well as the Beatles have suffered as a result. The Beatles' finances make a fascinating and complex, but ultimately, sordid and depressing story, resulting as it did in the break-up of one of the most enriching musical partnerships of all time.

Dollar-hungry monsters abound in Michael Wales' rather pedestrian **Vox Pop (Harrap, £2.50),** which is subtitled 'Profiles of the pop process.' He talks to everyone from agent to song plugger, accountant to session man, but no reliable insight to success emerges, except perhaps that in many cases hype is an adequate substitute for talent.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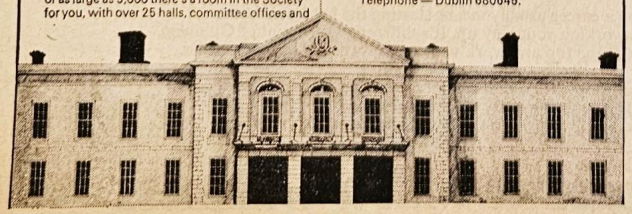

ARKS

# FINANCE PROPERTY ECONOMICS

## Politics and Prices

INEVITABLY, there is a gulf between the cost/price structure in any industry as seen by the National Prices Commission and by the official representatives of the industry itself. The Commission employs consultants and inspectors from the Department to take a preliminary look. The findings as published are inevitably challenged. Then both sides agree to look further into the matter. And there the matter too often rests. Thus the report on New House Prices, which was published last June, was immediately challenged by the Construction Industry Federation. The November report on the price of drink drew its rejoinder from the Licensed Vintners, and, more recently, the very critical report on C.I.E.'s rates and fares is being hotly disputed by C.I.E.'s irate management. In the welter of conflicting statistical documentation produced on both sides, it is difficult enough to arrive at the truth, but two conclusions from the reports so far are clear and indisputable. The first is that inefficiencies and abuses do flourish in many of the areas covered by the Commission's reports. The second is that the major factor in the delay of tacking these problems is political indecision.

The C.I.E. city buses situation is a case in point. Here the past half decade has seen a constant and costly expansion of seating capacity while the numbers travelling by bus have declined year by year. The following table from the Commission's report spells out the woeful inefficiency in this area:—

**Capacity Utilisation on Dublin City buses**

| Year | Seating capacity | Passengers carried (milion) | Passengers per seat per year | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Number | Index |
| 1965/66 | 48,666 | 236 | 4,849 | 100. |
| 1966/67 | 52,509 | 224 | 4,266 | 88.3 |
| 1967/68 | 58,260 | 233 | 3,999 | 82.5 |
| 1968/69 | 60,059 | 228 | 3,796 | 78.3 |
| 1969/70 | 61,025 | 220 | 3,605 | 74.3 |
| 1970/71 | 65,586 | 209 | 3,187 | 65.7 |
| 1971/72 | 65,144 | 201 | 3,085 | 63.6 |

Source: C.I.E. Annual Reports.

The major part of C.I.E.'s difficulty with city buses has been brought about by the growing traffic congestion in Dublin City. As the average speed of buses declines with the snarling up of all rush-hour traffic, more buses are required and each of them is relatively less productive. But the only solution to this problem is a political one involving the Ministers of Local Government and of Justice, as well as the Minister for Transport and Power. So far, they have failed to initiate any co-ordinated improvement in this area.

The failure to implement the one-man buses is fundamentally a political problem, too, because no Minister has been willing to face up to the probable result, The prices Commission states the problem nicely in its final comment. "The C.I.E. application (for fare increases) was precipitated by the impact of increases in labour costs, a fall in the utilisation of capacity and what appears to be a relatively poor performance in terms of other changes in economic efficiency. These cannot be accepted as inevitable or as an automatic justification for increases in rates and fares."

In the past, of course, they were, and even in this case the Department of Transport and Power *supported* the proposed increases in its memorandum to the Prices Commission. If the increases are not now granted in Dublin bus fares, will the Government stand behind C.I.E. in insisting on the conversion to one-man buses, and will it also do something about the traffic congestion? Finally will it act on the proposals (which C.I.E. say have been before the Government since July, 1971) for significant physical changes in the railway and other businesses which C.I.E. expect will result in major improvements in productivity?

A far less complicated test of the Government's seriousness and capacity for decision-making lies in the trading stamp issue. The Prices Commission's conclusion is quite unequivocal on this one. It recommends that the Minister "should explore the possibilities of introducing legislation to prohibit the use of trading stamps." The wording is cautious—and perhaps with reason. But it will be interesting to see—even in this rather simple case, if the Minister is willing to take the Commission's reports seriously and if he has the political courage to act on them.

**The Financial Editor**

From left: Mr. Martin McCullough, director; Mr. Redmond J. Murphy, chairman, and Mr. Kevin A. Mulcahy, director of Bolands.

## Boland's Cash Dilemma

### A Special Correspondent

ALONG WITH all the other flour millers like Ranks (Ireland), Odlums, Milford Bakery, Barrow Milling, et al, Bolands enjoyed one of the most successful years it has ever had in its whole history. While it has not quite matched Ranks 170% profit increase, it was able to turn in a profit figure one-third higher than that recorded for its previous financial period, which lasted, incidentally, for 18 months. On an annualised basis this works out at a rise of 83%. For the first time in many years, more than I can remember, flour milling has begun to look like a highly profitable operation, but the funny thing about it is that this changed circumstance is due to the very same factor which caused the industry to be so unprofitable in past years, namely, the Department of Industry and Commerce's Price Control machinery.

In September 191, after what was meant to be an in depth study of the flour milling and bakery industry, the Prices Advisory Body set up for this inquiry granted what must now be regarded as substantial (unjustified?) price increases. These increases were granted right at the beginning of Boland's last financial year and they thus made their fullest impact on the 1971/72 outcome throwing up a pre-tax profit of £600,000.

In terms of relative profitability, return on the total capital employed as of the last balance sheet comes out at 24%. This is a very respectable figure by any standard, but even this grossly understates the actual operating returns of the assets actually employed in milling and baking. If trade investments and the massive cash resources held by the company are deducted from the total capital employed and the interest these earned deducted from the profit figure turned in by the whole company, the returns on the remaining capital employed work out at a very hefty 40%. This figure is, admittedly, somewhat overstated, for the company's property has not been revalued since 1969, but even allowing for this, the returns are still way above anything that would be expected from such a staid industry. I cannot possibly see how the next time the millers put in their claim for a further price increase the National Prices Commission can take anything but a very sceptical view of the situation. It could thus be some time before there is another price increase, and, with consumption declining at 1½% a year, investors will have to consider the prospect of steadily declining earnings over the next few years.

This prospect is not, however, the most immediate concern of the directors. As we pointed out last year, the biggest dilemma facing the company is the cash surpluses, which are rapidly accumulating, and it was suggested that with minimal capital commitments and cash flow running at £200,000, "the position is likely to become almost embarrassing." This it certainly has, for, as of September, these cash surpluses have almost doubled, and now amount to £1 million, and this despite the investment of £200,000 in trade investments.

What element of enterprise there was in the company in the late 'fifties, when it made the, for it, courageous decision to branch out into a complete new field, namely, biscuit making, seems to have completely left the company.

Since the mid-'sixties all the directors have done is cut back. They seem to have adopted a policy of retrenchment. This began when they sold out their biscuit business to Jacobs in 1966. While Bolands received a net £400,000 in cash as part of this deal, it was also left with a 7% stake in Jacobs, a 10% stake in Irish Biscuits and the option to take up further Jacob shares to bring its holding in Jacobs up to 11% and its total participation in the enlarged Irish Biscuit operation to 20%, a not inconsiderable interest.

However, Bolands seems to have adopted a very negative attitude since then. Although Jacobs was in dire need of funds to finance its new Tallaght factory, Bolands did not take up its options on Jacob's shares (although these were, admittedly, priced over the market at option time). It then followed this up by forcing Jacobs to buy out its 10% stake in Irish Biscuits.

And while all this was going on the company were also selling off their valuable chain of retail shops under a policy of non-involvement in the retail trade adopted around 1969. The total effect of all this disinvestment combined to rising profitability in milling and a conservative dividend policy has been to continuously accumulate increasingly substantial cash resources inside the company. Capital commitments inside the group are relatively insignificant at the moment, and the immediate prospect must be that with cash flow running at £265,000 this cash build-up will continue.

Sooner or later the board of directors will have to face up to this problem of cash accumulation. In very broad terms it can do this in two different ways. The first and probably the simplest of these would be to accept the present role of the company as it stands, that is, essentially a miller and baker in a fairly static situation with a declining market and no expansionary aspirations, horizontally, vertically, concyclicaly, or any other way. This would mean adapting the firm's financial structure to cope with this role. In concrete terms this would best be achieved by making a cash distribution of around 30p a share to get rid of the embarrassing liquid surplus, and then adopting a dividend policy which only retained sufficient profits in the company to maintain its role.

The other alternative would, broadly speaking, mean adopting a policy of expansion and growth. This, however, would require a very positive attitude and creative thinking to generate attractive investment alternatives. Last year I suggested that the obvious path for the company to follow at that time was "to start buying Jacob's share in the market." The beauty of this was that Bolands could thus secure an expanding outlet for its flour mills (the flour supply contract with Jacobs is due to expire in 1976) and at the same time get in on the cheap into a fairly well managed and progressive company, whose shares were, at that time, very substantially depressed by the exceptionally heavy costs of moving to its Tallaght factory.

Strangely enough, Bolands actually seemed to have accepted this advice, for since then it has invested £200,000 in quoted investments. There is not a word of comment on this in its annual report, but from the fact that Bolands is currently carrying a capital gain of nearly £100,000 it would seem to fit in very much with Jacobs share price performance over the past year. If this hypothesis is correct Bolands now control 12% of Jacobs equity. This obviously will increase its leverage to secure the continuity of its flour supply contract beyond 1976. There does, however, appear to be some ambivalence in Bolands attitude to its investment in Jacobs, but, like Macbeth, it is is probably in too far to extricate itself. On the other hand, the 65% rise in Jacobs shares since I recommended them to Bolands must now make it much more difficult to continue purchasing them.

On a three-year view, Jacobs are on a prospective p.e. rating of between 7 and 8 assuming everything goes to plan. While this is not a bad prospect, it is still far from miraculous and well below the financial returns that an active management should be able to generate.

Overall, considering its record, it is quite likely that Bolands just do not have the talents that would be needed to re-orientate onto a growth path without becoming involved in a number of financial disasters. (There is plenty of precedent for this.) So if Jacobs shares do not come back into a buying range, say anything under 70p, Bolands would probably be best advised to sit on its present 12% stake, and go ahead and make a 30p cash distribution.

# . . Around the City with Moneybags

## White Magic

IN 1970 Dubtex's 80% owned company, Balman Clothes, Ltd., lost £16,000. As this was Balman's first full year of operations, Dubtex's conservative treatment of these losses in its 1970 accounts was probably quite understandable. This, however, somewhat hid the extent of Dubtex's commitment in this company. In fact, besides its £10,000 share investment, Dubtex was owed £24,000 by Balman, and had jointly underwritten its £40,000 overdraft facility. This meant a total commitment of £54,000 as of December, 1970.

Since then Balman has incurred a further loss of £26,600, and, naturally, one would have thought that Dubtex's commitment in Balman would have increased accordingly. However, despite these further losses, Dubtex's commitment to Balman has been reduced from £54,000 to nil as of December, 1971 (the accounts to which date have only recently become available). Without writing off the full amount, this transformation would undoubtedly be a very tricky manoeuvre, but Dubtex has managed it with a very modest £12,300 write-off and, would you believe it, in December was actually a debtor for £7,000 to Balman.

I am not quite sure how this was managed, but somehow or other Balman has been able to reduce the amount it owed Dubtex on current account by £22,000 and at the same time no longer require Dubtex to underwrite its bank overdraft. Balman's issued capital is £20,000, but already the company has incurred losses totalling £42,000. Obviously, someone or other has lent Balman sufficient long-term finance to enable it not only to maintain operations, but also to repay Dubtex the above amounts. I wonder who this could be? Somehow, I detect the hand of Foir Teoranta—that lender of last resort. I must ask **Solomon White** about it, if I see him at the races.

By the way, Kennedy Crowley and Co., Dubtex's auditors for 50 years, have just been replaced by Bastow Charleton and Co.

## Russian Roulette

I HAVE ALWAYS had substantial reservations about the E.S.B.'s voracious appetite for capital expenditure. One of the original objectives of the E.S.B. was to tap native resources to help meet the energy requirements of the Irish economy. Since the Shannon scheme, however, the position has changed drastically and the E.S.B. now depend on imported oil for over 65% of its supply.

One thing that did surprise me, however, in recent years was the E.S.B.'s use of Russian oil, which now accounts for as much as 40% of its total fuel imports. This did seem to indicate that the economy was at least looking round for ways of at least minimising costs but, would you believe it, this was not the E.S.B.'s own idea but rather that of a commercial concern, Tedcastle McCormick. Why the E.S.B. could not have had the intelligence to tie up a contract with NAFTA, the Russian agency without the prodding of a private commercial concern is totally beyond my imagination. The beauty of this, however, for Tedcastle McCormick is that it does not even have to touch one ounce of the 400,000 tons it presently supplies to the E.S.B. as this all comes in direct to E.S.B. terminals to whom it is sold on a water-fed basis. I do not know how much Tedcastle are making out of this deal, but I believe their commission is now approximately 12½p per ton, which means a cool £50,000 per annum. Certainly it hasn't gone unnoticed that Tedcastle's plan to build a £½m. oil depot near Alexandra Basin is all being financed internally, without any recourse to outside equity participation.

Irish exports to Russia in 1972 will be in the region of £300,000. Irish imports from that great economy may well approach ten times that amount. If the E.S.B. was buying its oil at a particularly keen price from Russia I wouldn't mind. But I understand that this is not the case. The choice of Russian oil is mainly to guarantee an alternative source of supply from the western bloc. But why this purchasing order from an Irish state company, worth almost £2½ million p.a. is not bartered against an exchange of Irish goods, must be as incomprehensible to NAFTA, as it is to some of the older members here in the club.

## Stamp Robbery

MY HEARTIEST CONGRATULATION to young **Louden Ryan** and his National Prices Commission members for their exposé of the Green Shield stamp nonsense. They have recommended to the Minister that he "should explore the possibility of introducing legislation to prohibit the use of trading stamps." And the quicker he takes their advice, the happier shall I be. But has he the guts to? It will be an interesting test of the determinaion of one, **Parick Lawlor.**

I have long abominated the whole disgusting usage of trading stamps. I deplore their parasitical nature and despise their inherent blackmail. I have always regarded them as yet another bad habit from abroad (like hoardings or highways) that should have been turned back at the first customs post! But I had never dreamt of the scale of audacity (or should I say rapacity) which Professor Ryan has now revealed. For 7½p (or about 250 stamps!) you can get the full report from Government Publications.

Table 3 in the report is the real eye-opener of the 40 items listed, it shows that substantially more Green Shield stamps are required to redeem "gifts" in this country than in the U.K. on all but 4 items. This might be tolerable except that it is also shown that the ordinary retail price of many of the items is actually **lower** in Ireland than in the U.K. For instance, although the average retail price of a 22" Crown "fiesta" suitcase is £4.12 in Ireland, compared

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to £5.50 in the U.K., it requires 8,930 stamps here compared to only 8,000 in the U.K. to get one of these "gifts."

That this sort of business has been tolerated for so long, only goes to show that you can fool most of the people most of the time. It also shows the deplorably low standard of consumer watchdogs on the Irish scene. But now that we have the facts, I'll be waiting to see what Mr. Lawlor intends to do about it.

## *Odd-Lum*

I WAS RATHER surprised to note that the stock exchange did not concern itself with the Odlum Mills Limited (a Peter Odlum controlled company) decision to take over Johnston, Mooney & O'Brien, the Dublin bakers. Peter Odlum already owns Johnston Mooney and there is absolutely nothing wrong with transferring assets from one family controlled company to another as long as there are no innocent third parties involved. In this case, however, there are outside interests. Johnston Mooney has been passed from the 97% Peter-Odlum-controlled W.P. & R.O. Holdings, to the 54% Peter-Odlum-controlled, Odlum Mills Limited. And it is not as if these essentially private transactions were small dealings, for the best part of £3m. in cash changed hands.

The principal third party involved was R. & H. Hall, the outside share-holders in which are now, whether they like it or not, substantial shareholders in the most notoriously cyclical end of the whole milling industry. Transactions between independent companies can be delicate enough but when it comes to dealings between companies with interlocking shareholdings, then the interests of minority shareholders must be fully protected by the stock exchange committee.

Criticism of the Irish Stock Exchange has made it hypersensitive as evidenced by its extraordinary request not to deal in Boland's shares the morning of it's A.G.M. purely because of an ordinary announcement of a script issue. This sensitivity could be far better channelled into other areas, one of them being the supervision of interlocking shareholdings.

## *Landing Rights*

YOU will be pleased to learn that we managed to finalise that tiresome landing-rights issue in the club over brandy the other evening. You will appreciate that the reason for the delay over the past several months was simply the presence of **Dr. Hillery.** Now that he has departed the Cabinet and the constituency of Clare, it cannot decently be held against him that both TWA and Pan-Am are to be granted landing rights in Dublin early in 1973. Neither company will be allowed "on-going" facilities at Dublin, that is to say, they will not be allowed to embark passengers at Dublin for east-bound flights.

All of this will be announced during or soon after the Taoiseach's visit to the U.S. and it was unanimously decided that **Mr. Lenihan** should be allowed to reveal this good news for the tourist industry generally.

PEOPLE either love or hate statistics, there can be no half measures. They are mandatory at this time of year, and certainly no financial journalist could get out of writing his column without reference to things past. I don't see why I can't get in on the act.

The top prizewinning races of the year are usually the best races in which to back the short-priced favourites. All five Irish Classic races saw the favourite beaten, the most traumatic being the 2000 Guineas and the Derby, in which the winners of the English counterparts, **High Top** and **Roberto**, hit the dust.

It took all of Moneybags' tolerance and urbanity to stop some of the older members of the club from physically assaulting me as I tottered weakly into the Club from the Curragh those evenings. The filly **Pidget**, although 20/1 on the same Guineas day that **Ballymore** won at 33/1, gave me some solace, and she had to be followed when she won the St. Leger at a third of the odds, still a good price. Only the Guinness Oaks, with a well fancied French filly the winner, produced a second favourite, and **Regal Exception** was twice the odds of the disappointing favourite, **Indian Maid.**

The National Hunt racing proved no better, the worse example being only last week, as the odds-on **Bula** floundered in the Leopardstown rain and mud, conditions he normally loves. Obviously, a bad trading year, yet to listen to the bookmakers one would think that the way they make their books the favourite frequently doesn't matter as much as a well-backed second or third favourite. It smacks of having one's cake and eating it.

Naas has a very bad reputation for favourites so here are a few selections for Saturday next (almost) guaranteed not to be first market choices. **Kaffe Klubben** was a maiden on the flat in 1972 but the racecard will indicate if a sex operation is likely to take his attention off fillies and onto racing. In the first race his five lb. allowance should tip the scales. Jim Dreaper trains him now, and **Ten Up** could make it a quick stable double in the second. **Ebony Lad** will attempt to make all the running in race three. On second thoughts, they look as if each will start favourite. But they should win.

"THE NEPHEW"


# Fitzwilton

Main points from the Chairman's Report

- Pre-tax profits for 1971/72 up by 14% to £1-229 million.
- Total dividend raised from 12% to 14%.
- Change of name from W. and H. M. Goulding Limited to Fitzwilton Limited followed mergers with Fitzwilliam Securities Limited and Crowe, Wilson, and Company, Limited in September 1972.
- Objective of Fitzwilton Limited is profitable expansion both in Ireland and overseas.
- Principal interests of Fitzwilton Limited now span manufacturing, distribution, housebuilding and property.

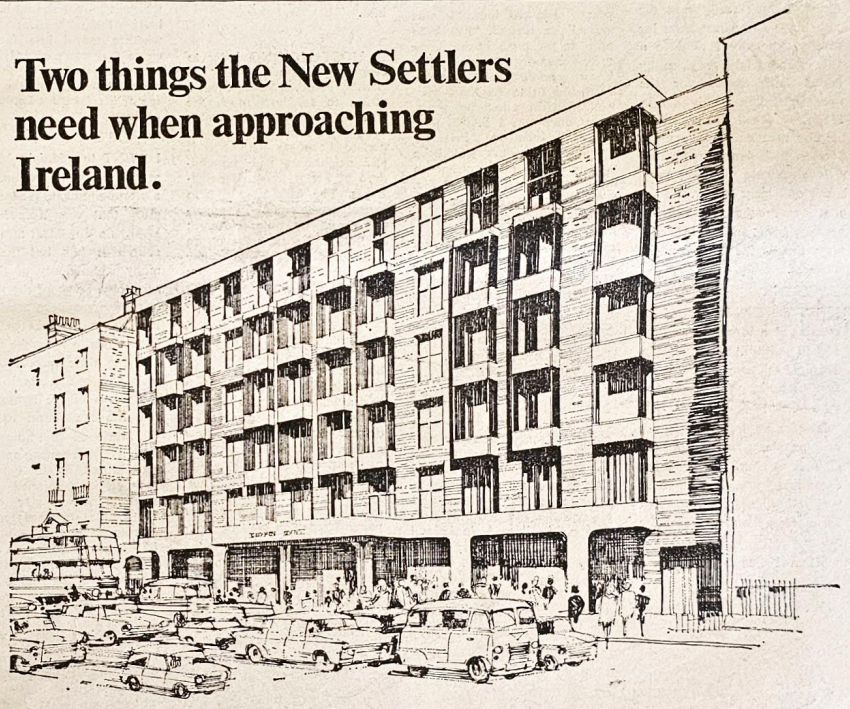
**Fitzwilton Limited**

Chairman: Sir Basil Goulding Bt.
Deputy Chairman: Anthony J. F. O'Reilly, B.C.L.

*For a copy of the full report and accounts, please write to The Secretary, Fitzwilton Limited, Fitzwilton House, Wilton Place, Dublin 2.*



# Two things the New Settlers need when approaching Ireland.



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# MARY KENNYS LONDON DIARY

ON THE WHOLE I don't very much enjoy Christmas parties because I do not care for Xmas very much, nor contribute very much to its 'celebration' (I send no cards and offer very few, and very bad, unimaginative presents — not *essentially* out of meanness, but out of an immense fatigue with the whole tawdry business. My nerves are bad enough without having to do battle in Oxford Street as well — well, thus, I figure, I don't really have the right to join in what passes for revelry. Recently I went to a vast commercial one given by Allied Irish Banks for the opening of their new branch in Holloway Road. It's given at the Gresham Ballroom, a great London Irish dance centre and it is absolutely gigantic, very lavish and quite merry. I suppose it makes sense for an Irish banking group to do things this way; *this is the way you get business.*

MOST RIVETING part of the evening is a long conversation I had with AIB Chairman, **Edmund O'Carroll.** He's a Belfast Catholic, very grand and successful, probably very rich.

They're an interesting genre of people, rich Northern Catholics. Until the troubles, those that I knew tended to be very smooth and stuck-up, bent upon aping the manners of the ruling class.

When I was a little girl, I used to visit friends of my mother's in Banbridge, a true Loyalist stronghold, and with my little Catholic friend there I used to play a nice Royalist game called Princess Elizabeth and Princess Margaret Rose.

Now, of course, even the middle classes have had their consciousness raised. Edmund O'Carroll was fascinating about this. "What was it like, being an affluent Catholic in the North over the last 50 years?" I asked him. "It was awful," he replied. "I've been an important businessman there for many years now; I've known people like **Roy Bradford** and **Brian Faulkner** very well. Yet in all those years, never once was I invited to a Stormont function. Privately Stormont Ministers would be very civilised and cordial to one, but never publicly." Mr. O'Carroll appears to be more important than ever now: he's President of the Irish branch of the European League for Economic Co-Operation, a stepchild of the E.E.C.; he was the first Catholic in the Belfast Stock Exchange Club; he's a close friend of **Ken Whittaker** and **Terence ONeill** ("marvellous chap, terrible book").

He seems to know a great deal of what's going on both North and South of the Border in businesss and government circles. He says that the next President of the Republic will be **Erskine Childers** or **Lord Moyne** unless it's a third compromise candidate Cosgrave? He says that the two most brilliant political minds in Ireland are: No. 1 **Jack Lynch;** No. 2, **Mary Colley.**

PARTY AT IRISH Embassy. The Irish are really getting clever at diplomacy. In addition to obviously helpful people like **Michael Foot** and **Norman St-John Stevas,** they have invited people who are more hostile to the Republic like **Bill Deedes,** Tory M.P., and the Telegraph political writer, **T. E. Utley,** normally referred to in 'Private Eye' as Tee Hee Utterly Ridiculous. (Like many people with odious views, Peter Utley is personally very nice.) This is terribly shrewd and tactful. The poor old Ulster office people haven't any of this sophistication. They also gave a party, at which was present no one except their own chums.

The Irish Fleet Street Contingent were very piqued at not being invited to eat and drink at the expense of the Ulster Office and went around saying that **Lord Windelsham** was the only Catholic present at **their** party, and they only tolerated him.

A MOST MOVING letter to **Angela McNamara** in 'The Sunday Press'. A young mother writes to say how much she dreads and loathes Xmas; there is so much to do, in order to keep up with friends and neighbours and the children of her friends and neighbours. The kids were led to expect costly gifts by advertising and by other children; her husband spent so much on liquor and left so little money over for all the things she felt obliged to buy. She didn't know how to cope and felt mortified.

Angela's reply is, as ever, kind and compassionate. My own response is one of rage. It seems so absolutely dreadful that a woman should be driven to such anxiety and near-despair by what is by now merely a capitalist plot to make people consume, consume, consume; compete, compete, compete; purchase, show off, display with ever greater pagan frenzy how you celebrate the 'Christmas' spirit.

It's perfectly awful the way that people are railroaded into it—and no one is impervious. Even if you are insensitive and strong-minded about it like me and refuse to do anything except be carried along by the great wave of disgusting self-indulgence of it all, you still end up by participating in some way because you hate to be called Scrooge. But Charles Dickens, too, was in the plot. How I wish, sometimes, I was in China. Reading the Diary of **Fei Ling** — a marvellous Anglo-Chinese student revolutionary who went back to China last year to see the country of her foremothers, and tragically, died there of cancer — makes me long for a society that is puritanical and uplifting and spiritual; one from which materialism has been utterly banished and where the prevailing thought is always for the social good of the collective and not the selfish material gratification of the 'individual', which has never made people happy. Fei Ling genuinely celebrated Xmas in China and it was simple, pure and non-orgiastic, which is how it should be. Nobody there worries about whether they'll lose face because they can't afford expensive **things;** instead they sit around talking about the meaning of life (Marxist-Leninist, of course).

I WENT to midnight Mass at my old parish in Dublin. What a disappointment. Where is the glory that was Rome? Now, M.M. is a downbeat affair; the church is full, but the ceremony without any of the old solemnity. Some of the women in the congregation are in curlers under headscarves, some of the men in from the pub or carrying their motorbike helmets. No one seems to know the words of the hymns. The crib has the charm of being old-fashioned—but how far removed from meaningfulness, those blond, Aryan figurines—the Virgin fashioned like a German movie star of the 1930s, the shepherds a clean Nordic proletariat — how unlike any representation of the true phenomenon which we are supposed to be celebrating: the birth of a great power in the heat of Jewish desert 2,000 years ago.

DURING the day, a call from a Jesuit friend of the family affords me great amusement. How right I was, he says, satisfyingly, to be critical of **Mr. Desmond O'Malley.**

He is a dreadful young man. Why, when he was a student, staying at the Jesuit's University Hall, what did he do but invite **Sheehy Skeffington** in to address the students! Well, of course, that sort of thing just can't be tolerated. A Godless man, a professed Atheist, coming in to University Hall at Desmond O'Malley's request! They wouldn't hear of it! And what did the young O'Malley do? He wrote to the **newspapers** denouncing the Jays for their repressive attitudes, if you please!

Well, well, I was quite stunned. Perhaps I shall revise my views somewhat about Mr. O'Malley. A man who so admired Sheehy Skeffington can't **be** all bad.

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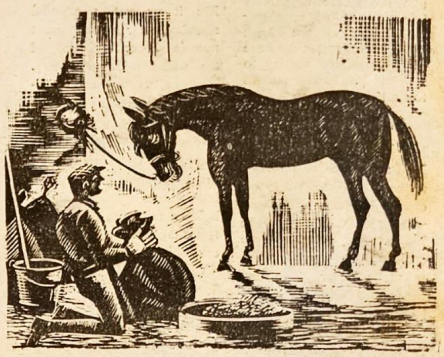

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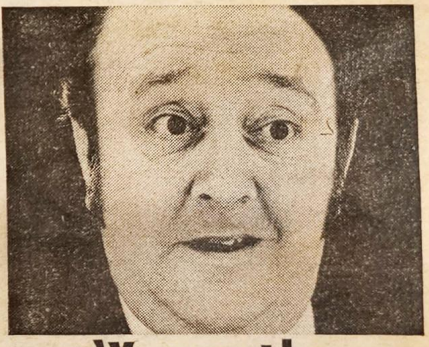

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